THE MYSTICISM OF JOHANN JOSEPH VON GÖRRES AS A REACTION AGAINST RATIONALISM

BY

SISTER MARY GONZAGA, B.A., M.A.,

OF

THE POOR HANDMAIDS OF JESUS CHRIST,
FORT WAYNE, IND.

A DISSERTATION

Submitted to the Faculty of Philosophy of the Catholic University of America in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Washington,
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Dedicated

O The Right Reverend William Turner, D.D., Bishop of Buffalo, N. Y., former Professor of Philosophy at this University, with deep admiration for his eminent, practical genius, and warmest gratitude for many proofs of his ever-ready personal kindness.

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PREFACE.

This dissertation owes its existence to the instigation of the Right Reverend William Turner, D.D., under whose direction the work was begun, and carried on, until his elevation to the Episcopal See of Buffalo, N. Y., March thirtieth, 1919. It was then continued and completed under the kindly guidance of the Reverend P. J. McCormick, Ph.D. In her graduate work the writer's principal courses were those under the Very Reverend E. A. Pace, S. T. D., LL.D., and the Reverend J. J. Fox, S. T. D. The writer is happy to have this opportunity to express her deep appreciation of the work done under these professors.

The writer, moreover, wishes to express her deep sense of gratitude to the Very Reverend T. E. Shields, LL.D., Dean of the Catholic Sisters College, for encouragement and kindness throughout her four years of residence (1916-1920) at this Institution. Gratitude is also due, for kindness and helpfulness, to the Right Reverend Bishop T. J. Shahan, LL.D., Rector of the University, and to many others. To her Community and her Parents she is in particular indebted for the special opportunities and advantages of which this work is the culmination.

The writer in no way pretends to have exhausted the theme. Yet she hopes, and is confident, to have rendered a service, however humble, to the Görres-Research-Work, in the field of the Reactionary Movement against the destructive tendency of the Rationalism of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries. That the times were not exactly favorable for the prosecution of the

work, will, no doubt, be understood without further comment.

Should these humble efforts be the means to increase the ranks of the Disciples of Görres in their following his noble endeavors of reinstating the Lord Jesus Christ in His place as the "Foundation Stone" of the "Whole of the Social Edifice" through a life of the nations "With God, Through Active Love", their aim has been fulfilled. Tolle et Lege!

Washington, D. C.,
January 25, 1920.

INTRODUCTION.

Men often champion the cause of the Intellect, or the Feeling, or the Will, as if they were three rival powers contending for the supremacy over our lives. The unity of our personality is often lost sight of. Man is no more pure intellect than he is pure sentiment, or pure will. He is body and soul, and is endowed with the capacity to know, to love, and to will.

The same power which gave man the above capacities gave him also the tendencies to satisfy them. The two tendencies that concern us here chiefly are to know and to love, and no one will deny that the need to love is greater than the need to know; for, indeed, man needs to know only in order to love since the latter encloses the secret of his happiness. Reason, as the princess, dwells in the highest room, but love is the power that inspires and saves, the source of light and life and warmth. A poet truly says,

> "The night has a thousand eyes,
> And the day but one;
> Yet the light of the whole world dies
> With the setting sun.
> The mind has a thousand eyes
> And the heart but one;
> But the light of the whole life dies
> When love is done."[1]

Look at music only through the understanding, and it becomes a dry logic of scientific terms and propositions; but let both reason and heart have their play, and we see in it a living expression of order, a sensible representation of that eternal harmony which all creation breathed forth, as a writer so beautifully puts it, when the morning stars first sang together, and which even now

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1 Patrick, J. N., "Psychology for Teachers," New York, 1902, p. 289.

to the listening spirit sounds fresh and solemn as when it first burst forth from the murmur and confusion of chaos.

Peacefully, then, are mind and heart, thought and love, to exist together in one body, destined, as they are, to assist and help each other to bring about in the individual man that happy equilibrium which constitutes true culture, and, as to mankind at large, those glorious ages, spoken of in Don Quijote as, "Dichosa edad y siglos dichosos acquéllos á quien los antiquos pusieron nombre de dorados"—"happy ages and happy centuries those to which the ancients gave the name of golden."

Rationalism, basing itself, as it does, upon the so-called scientific method and the method of doubt, destroyed this happy equilibrium of mind and heart, and thereby undermined the chief source of man's happiness and greatness. To show, then, the destructive tendency of Rationalism on the one hand, and the truly constructive tendency of Christian Mysticism, as represented by Görres, on the other, shall be our main endeavor in the following pages. The bibliographies contain only such works as have been of immediate value in preparing this dissertation.

Christmas-day, 1919.

CHAPTER I.

RATIONALISM: ITS DEFINITION AND ORIGIN.

In trying to obtain the meaning of Rationalism from the term itself, we find that it is directly derived from the Latin "rationalis", its root being ratio, reason. The term rationalis signifies what is conformable to reason, that which possesses the attributes and methods of reason. As for the barbarous part of the term, the-ism, this belongs to the Greek (—ισμός). It is derived from a verbal ending which cannot be expressed in Latin, namely —ίζειν which conveys the meaning, according to Rueckert, of being only apparently true. Rationalism, then, would mean not a system that possesses the qualifications of being reasonable, yet which is to pass as such.[1]

On consulting the various authors for the proper meaning which Rationalism has acquired in history, one becomes hopelessly confused and amazed at the number of definitions placed at one's disposal. But from the results it has produced,—the great overthrow of faith it has effected, and its influence upon the platform and the press of the countries invaded by it, it must be looked upon as a doctrine which plainly denies the existence and the possibility of a supernatural and immediate revelation from the Almighty, and maintains that to claim supreme authority for any supposed supernatural religion is degrading to the dignity and the nature of man. It, therefore, enters into direct conflict with statements of the Old and the New Testament which clearly and unmistakably assert the existence of a divine communication. Rationalism, accordingly, openly challenges the credibility and veracity of Holy Scripture, and leaves us no alternative but to disbelieve the Bible as fabulous or

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1 Cf. Hurst, J. F., "History of Rationalism," New York, 1906, p. 6 f. (note 3); also cf. "Encyclopédie des Sciences Religieuses," Tome XI, p. 112, article: Rationalisme.

to reject Rationalism as inconsistent with our rule of faith.

In modern thought Rationalism has acquired the more special connotation as having but one principle, namely, the sufficiency of reason alone to explain the mysteries of the universe. In a wide and more extreme sense, the term is employed, in philosophy as well as in theology, for any system that sets up human reason as the final criterion and the chief source of knowledge. Such systems are opposed to all doctrines which rest solely or ultimately upon external authority; the individual must investigate everything for himself and abandon any position, the reality of which cannot be rationally demonstrated.[2] In this sense Rationalism is particularly synonymous with free-thinking.[3]

In the narrower theological sense, the term is especially used of the doctrines held by a school of German theologians and Biblical scholars who were prominent, roughly speaking, between 1740 and 1836, A. D. This Rationalism was a theological manifestation of the intellectual movement known as the "Enlightenment" (Aufklaerung). It owed much to the English Deists and the French Esprits Forts who had already made vigorous attacks on the supernatural origin of the Scriptures[4], as we shall see later.

Lecky defines Rationalism as "a system which would unite in one sublime synthesis all the past forms of human belief, which accepts with triumphant alacrity each new development of science, having no stereotyped standard to defend, and which represents the human mind as pursuing on the highest subjects a path of continual progress toward the fullest and most transcendent knowledge of the Deity.....It clusters around a series

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2 See Cohn, Jonas von, "Die Hauptformen des Rationalismus" (Philosophische Studien, Vol. 19), Leipzig, 1902, p. 74; also "Encyclopedia Britannica," Vol. XXII, p. 916, article: Rationalism.

3 Cf. Averling, Francis, "Catholic Encyclopedia," Vol. XII, p. 653 (2), article: Rationalism; also Gauvin, M. J., Rationalism the Religion of Reason, Pittsburgh, 1916, p. 5.

4 Cf. Rose, H. J., "State of Protestantism in Germany," London, 1829, pp. XXII-XXVI; also cf. Saintes, A., "Historie Critique du Rationalisme en Allemange," Paris, 1841, pp. 1-6.

of essentially Christian conceptions—equality, fraternity, the suppression of war, the elevation of the poor, the love of truth, and the diffusion of liberty. It revolves around the ideal of Christianity, and represents its spirit without its dogmatic system and its supernatural narratives. From both of these it unhesitatingly recoils, while deriving all its strength and nourishment from Christian ethics."[5]

In its positive meaning Rationalism signifies the Certitude of Principles which is acquired as a result of a direct intuition of the intellect. Taken in this sense it is opposed to empiricism, and denies that every form of knowledge can be reduced to experience. It admits the radical difference between the concrete and the abstract, and refuses to identify the universal with the collective. It asserts that the certitude of principles is not the direct result of experience, but of an intuition of the understanding. In other words, Rationalism in its positive sense, is not opposed to the legitimate use of experience, but admits the certitude of principles transcending experience.[6]

Simply considered as the rationalistic element in man, Rationalism is as old as man himself. Man may be said to be a born rationalist—a scrutinizer, a critic—by the very nature of his mind, as he is, according to Tertullian, for the same reason a born Christian,[7]—a born religionist, a born mystic. We meet this element in the garden of Eden in the argument between the Tempter and our

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5 Lecky, W. E. H., "History of the Rise and Influence of the Spirit of Rationalism in Europe," New York, 1891, Vol. I, pp. 182 and 184.

6 Cf. Dubray, C. A., "Introductory Philosophy," New York, 1913, p. 383.

7 Cf. Apol. 17: De Test, an. I and Anim. 41:41—Tertullian holds that the rational soul, created to the image and likeness of God, is illuminated by the Word, the λόγος "that enlightens every man that comes into the world." That light may be obscured because it is not God, but it cannot be put out entirely because it is from God. Faber, in his "The Creator and the Creature," p. 34, says: "If Christianity were not true, the conduct of a wise man, who acted consistently as a creature who had a Creator, would strangely resemble the behavior of a Catholic Saint. The lineaments of the Catholic type would be discernible on him though his gifts would not be the same."

First Parents. And the theogonies and cosmogonies of the ancients, what else are they but attempts to rationalize the mythical world and to explain the origin of the *being* supposed to govern occurrences in nature and in the life of man?

Yet, no one will deny that to make a right use of the reasoning faculty is a difficult art. The proudest geniuses have fallen into errors in the matter of reasoning. When the starting point is wrong, he who chooses it, will wander all the farther from truth the more vigorously he reasons.

In scanning the pages of the "History of Thought," we need not wonder, then, to find that not always the proper limits have been set to the powers of reason;—man's mind being finite, is fallible. In all ages we find men who knew how to assign to reason its proper sphere, while others fell short of, or stepped beyond, its line of demarcation, and more or less completely lost their way within the jungles of the intricacies and subtleties of thought.

CHAPTER II.

RATIONALISM, PREVIOUS TO ITS SYSTEMATIC DEVELOPMENT.

Speculative philosophy has its start, as far as the Western World is concerned, in Ancient Greece. In the development of Greek philosophy, there were two separate periods;—a period of spontaneous creation in which the problem of the origin of things, the problem of becoming, dominates and a period of sceptical reflection and reproduction. It is the latter period, the Age of Critical Reflection, that is of interest to us. It was inaugurated by the πάντων μέτρον ἄνθρωπος of the Sophists, and evolved the hypothesis, foreshadowed by Zeno, Parmenides, and Anaxagoras, *that the human understanding is a coefficient in the production of the phenomenon.* Heraclitus had declared that all is change. Protagoras added: this change itself depends on our subjective state. The external world is a creation of the mind: and since two men may construct their world in contradictory ways, it follows that truth is relative and science impossible.[8] Democritus had previously maintained that we cannot see atoms as they are, but we can think them, and that thought, by revealing the existence of invisible atoms, shows us the true nature of things. The scepticism of Protagoras, therefore, represents the conclusion of a syllogism of which the "πάντα ῥεῖ" of Heraclitus forms the major, and the sensualism of Democritus, the minor premise. The sensible world is a perpetual metamorphosis; the senses show only the things that pass away; they do not reveal the immutable, necessary, and universal. Hence, if we would know the truth, we must

8 Protagoras and the other subjective Sophists, in interpreting "ἄνθρωπος" do not mean man in general, but the individual, not the human understanding, but the understanding of each particular individual, and assume, in consequence, as many measures of the true and the false as there are individuals. Cf. Weber, A., "History of Philosophy," trans. by F. Thilly, New York, 1896, p. 63.

derive it from a better source than our deceptive senses; we must appeal to *reflection*, to *reason*. But, according to Democritus, reflection is simply the continuation of sensation. Consequently, if sensation is changeable, uncertain, illusory, and is at the same time the only source of knowledge, it necessarily follows that all knowledge is uncertain. No one knows anything but his own sensations. And as sensations differ for different individuals, it follows that there are as many truths as there are individuals[9]; that the individual is the measure of the true and the false (*πάντων χρημάτων μέτρον ἄνθρωπος, τῶν μὲν ὄντων ὡς ἔστι, τῶν δ' οὐκ ὄντων ὡς οὐκ ἔστιν*); that there are no universally valid truths or principles, or, at least, that we have no certain criterion by which to recognize the absolute truth of a metaphysical or moral proposition. The individual is the measure of the true and good. An act that benefits one man harms another; it is good for the one, bad for the other. Practical truth, like theoretical truth, is a relative thing, a matter of taste, temperament, and education. Metaphysical controversies are, therefore, utterly vain. It is not possible for us to prove anything but the particular fact of sensation; still more impossible is it to know the causes or ultimate conditions of reality, which escape all sense-perception. Let man, therefore, occupy himself with the only accessible object, with *himself*, i. e., with the only problem of importance:—the question concerning the condition of happiness.[10] Here we have in essence, as it were, modern Rationalism, together with its logical consequences, thus verifying the statement that "a careful observation in the history of philosophy reveals the fact that a phase of thought which we had imagined to be a new departure, is but a superficial modification of older orders of ideas."[11]

The scepticism of Protagoras, now, and the other Sophists, forms the starting-point of the philosophy of

9 Cf. foot-note 8, p. 15.
10 Cf. Weber, op. cit., p. 60 ff.
11 Cf. Sir Leslie Stephen, "History of English Thought in the Eighteenth Century," London, 1902, Vol. I, p. 3 (Introductory).

Socrates in his method of teaching. All he knows is that he knows nothing; he is, furthermore, convinced that *Certainty* is impossible in the case of physical science. However, though he is a sceptic in cosmology, his scepticism does not extend to the field of morals. Here he is a rationalist, as such. In his identifying virtue with knowledge, however indefinite the answer might be to the question as to what should properly form the content of that knowledge of the good which constitutes virtue, Socrates was at all events convinced that this knowledge is in itself sufficient to cause one to do the good, and so bring happiness,—a proposition which may serve as a type of a wholly rationalistic conception of life.[12]

Plato is a rationalist in so far as he holds that the senses are deceptive and cannot yield us truth,—that the immutable does not exist in the world of sense but in the world of ideas.[13]

In Aristotle, we have the well-balanced reason: the union of the subjective and the objective elements and the belief in the continuity of the spiritual with the material,—a continuity which is, according to Dr. Turner, not incompatible with the distinction between matter and spirit.[14]

After Aristotle, Greek philosophy declined, never to rise again, as such, to the height it had attained under the *Master of Thought of All Ages.* This was due, in large measure, to external causes. The battle of Chaeronea (B. C. 338) put an end to the political independence of Greece. Henceforth her destinies were bound up with those of Macedonia, and later with those of the Roman Republic. National troubles weakened the synthetic power of the Greek mind; and the thinkers of the period, shrinking back within themselves, became solicitous chiefly for personal security. They likewise felt all the more keenly the pressing need of seeking the secret of happiness in philosophy alone, now that religious

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12 Cf. Windelband, W., "A History of Philosophy," trans. by James H. Tufts, New York, 1895, p. 79.

13 See "Republic," VII.

14 Turner, W., "History of Philosophy," New York, 1903, p. 196.

scepticism was naturally gaining ground day by day.[15] For it is indeed true that a *derogatory movement in thought* is invariably followed by a derogatory movement in religion. The result was such contradictory systems as are Stoicism, Epicureanism, and, finally, the sceptical Pyrrhonism, with every evidence of a philosophical bankruptcy as we approach the Christian era.

With Christianity a new principle was introduced into the Theory of Certitude, as well as into the moral order: —*Faith.* Faith, according to St. Paul, is not only an act of intellect by which it adheres to the preaching of the Gospel, but it is also a feeling, a sentiment of confidence, a need to love God; it is, moreover, an act of the will which renounces the life of the flesh, to live a divine life by communion with Christ.[16] Görres, then, is indeed in accord with the "Apostle of Nations" when he speaks of Faith as *a matter of the heart* and "that dawning certitude which does not convince reason, but which is quite sufficient for it."[17]

The Coming of Christ, therefore, divides the history of philosophy as it divides the history of the world, In the systematic development of dogmatic truth the Church availed herself of the doctrines of philosophy and formulated her dogmas in the language of the schools of philosophy, in accordance with the law of *continuity in history.*[18] And as the Greek mind, at its best, admitted the union of the subjective and objective elements in knowledge, and believed in the continuity of the spiritual with the material, so did Christian Philosophy, in the Golden Age of Medieval Philosophy, determine that Reason and Faith are at once distinct and continuous.

From Christ onward there is found the religious and

15 Cf. Wulf, M.De, "History of Medieval Philosophy" (translated by O. Coffey), New York, 1909, p. 47.

16 Cf. Galatians, Chapter 3:23-28.

17 Schellberg, W., Josef von Görres' "Ausgewählte Werke und Briefe," Kempen and Munich, 1911, Vol. II, p. 69.—(Letter of May 4, 1800, to Miss Lassaulx).

18 Cf. Turner, op. cit., p. 655.

the rationalistic view of every question. Philosophy may profit by the teachings of religion; it may accept revelation as an extension of the horizon of human hopes, an opening up of new fields of human investigation; or it may, on the contrary, deny the special authority of Christian revelation;—it may cite the doctrines of Christ and His Church before the tribunal of reason, and pass sentence on them, denying the right of appeal to a higher court. Henceforth, then, there will be the religious attitude and the rationalistic attitude in the presence of the great problems which ancient philosophy discussed without reference to any source of knowledge superior to reason itself. There will be the Rationalist who refuses the aid of Christianity, and there will be the Religious Philosopher who accepts that aid; yet both must give *reasons* for such refusal or acceptance.

But, although the rationalistic spirit and the religious spirit pervade the whole history of philosophy of the Christian era, they are not always present in equal proportion or in equal strength. From the first to the fifteenth century the religious spirit prevailed, while from the fifteenth century onward, the rationalizing spirit dominated. However, there were rationalists in the first centuries, and there were religious-minded philosophers in the eighteenth and nineteenth, nor are both classes without representatives in our own days. The difference on which the division is based is a difference in the spirit of the age, not in the character of individual philosophers.[19]

In the Patristic period it was Gnosticism which furnished the rationalistic element in its subordination of Revelation to Reason. The Gnostics recognized no mystery in the Christian sense of the word:—the *gnosis*, or *esoteric doctrine*, being merest subterfuge and Human Reason the really ultimate test of all truth, supernatural as well as natural.[20]

19 Cf. Turner, op. cit., p. 215 f.

20 See, Neander, A., "The History of the Christian Religion and Church During the Three First Centuries" (trans. by H. J. Rose), Philadelphia, 1843, p. 238 ff.

In the Middle Ages Rationalism takes on a tinge of theosophy. In opposition to Modern Rationalism, which tries in the name of Reason to brush aside as unreal the data of Christian Revelation, medieval rationalistic philosophy endeavored, also in the name of Reason, to *prove to demonstration,* as evidently true and real, these same revealed data in their full scope and meaning. Even mysteries, such as the Trinity and the Incarnation, were claimed to be so accessible to human intelligence that it could establish them by *demonstrative argument.* Adopting the extreme deductive method, in imitation of Plato, Eriugena, for example, followed out this naturalistic interpretation of Christian dogma into all its smallest details. In common with the Gnostics he attached to the Scriptures and to the Fathers a symbolic sense, which was to be determined in the last resort by Reason, holding, as he did, that man by Reason (ratio) knows the primordial causes of things. Human thought, with him, is at bottom *divine,* since it follows the evolutions of the Divine Being. Nay more, human knowledge is limitless, for it is God Himself who thinks in man. The rights of Reason, consequently, are sovereign, both in regard to Nature and to Revelation.[21]

Abelard (1079-1142), by insisting exclusively on the "Intelligo ut credam," unduly emphasizes the same element. The principle that in order to believe we must first understand is by him equally extended to mean that Reason can comprehend even the mysteries of faith. The Greeks, he observed, had intuitions about the Blessed Trinity, as we know from the Platonic teaching about God, the νοῦς, and the world-soul, and teaches that the universal exists in the individual, and that it exists there alone.[22]

Roger Bacon (1214-1294) maintained the power of

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21 Cf. Wulf, op. cit., p. 170 ff. Cf. Huber, Johannes, "Johannes Scotus Erigena," Munich, 1861, p. 125 ff.

22 Cf. Wulf, op. cit., pp. 191 and 193; also Uberweg, F., "History of Philosophy" (translated by Geo. S. Morris), New York, 1909, Vol. I, p. 387 ff. Consult also Abelard's "Theologia Christiana," Opera V, Cousin adjuvante C. Jourdan, Tomus Porterior, pp. 357-593.

Reason still more explicitly, and with utmost insistence, while at the same time restricting it. He holds that the *Intellectus Agens*, which determines the passive intellect to elicit the act of "understanding," is not a part of the soul. It is the sun of our intelligences and illuminates them with its truth. And not only does he maintain that it is separate, but he explicitly identifies it with God. He, moreover, condemns all use of deductive reasoning, and even goes so far as to say that mathematical proof does not convince us unless it is confirmed by experience.[23]

Ockam (1280-1349) equally, nay more so, restricts the powers of the human reason. The very first page of his "Theodicy" contains the statement that the Existence, Unity, and Infinity of God are indemonstrable by Reason and must derive all their certitude from Revelation. Nor can Reason demonstrate the immortality of the individual soul, since neither Reason nor Experience can prove that the principle of understanding is the substantial form of the human body. Whatever lies beyond the range of experience is matter of Faith and not of Reason:—Reason, with him, must remain within the domain of facts. Nay more, as follower of Duns Scotus,[24] who is often called the "Kant of Scholastic Philosophy," Ockam maintains, "that right and wrong depend on the will of God"—"Eo ipso quod voluntas divina hoc vult, ratio recta dictat quod est volendum"[25]—, and thus endangers the necessity and immutability of the principles of morality.

Now, although Eriugena, Abelard, Roger Bacon, and Ockam, cannot be called rationalists in the modern sense of the word since they do not discard their belief in the supernatural order of truth, yet, by their over-emphasizing the power of Reason and the empirical method, or by an undue restriction of the power of Reason, and by their captious quibbling, they must be looked upon as important factors in preparing the way for the anti-Christian

23 Cf. "Opus Tertium," Brewer's edition, London, 1859, p. 74; and "Opus Majus III," p. 47; and, ibid., II, p. 177 (Bridges' edition).
24 Cf. Turner, op. cit., p. 388 ff.
25 Cf. ibid., p. 407; also Wulf, op. cit., p. 420 ff.

philosophy of the Renaissance, of which modern Rationalism was born.

Men now were beginning to find fault with the old traditions, the old language and literature, the old law, the old theological systems, the old political relations of Church and State, the old authoritative religion. The Averroistic principle that "what is true in theology may be false in philosophy," and vice versa, introduced into Christian philosophy by Eriugena, gained more and more ground. Religion seemed to lose its restraining power, and moral depravity, sorcery, and occult science corrupted the true sense of the superiority of things spiritual, which characterized the Thirteenth Century. The spirit of reflection, which, after the time of the great Aquinas, came to busy itself with subtleties too refined to be grasped even by the learned,[26] joined hands with the learning of the East, and, thus strengthened, broke out in open revolt against authority and tradition in the revolt of nation against Church, of *Reason* against prescribed *Truth*, of the individual against the compulsion of ecclesiastical organization. The notion began to prevail that Reason is something to be won by free and impartial inquiry and not something decreed by authority.

In Italy, which was the earliest in developing this new spirit, the body politic had grown powerful, the cities had amassed great wealth, and civic liberty was widespread. Worldly pleasures became a strong factor in life, and freer play was given to sensory impulse. The transcendental unworldly concept of life, which had till then been dominant, now came into conflict with a mundane, human, and naturalistic view, which centered on nature and in man. Prototypes for these new ideas were found in antiquity, whose writers cherish and extoll the enjoyments of life, the claims of individuality, literary art and fame, the beauty of nature. Not that the return to classical letters had anything essentially evil in itself, nor the return to the cult of form and beauty and greatness, or the study of nature; it was that

26 Turner, op. cit., p. 423.

alongside of these studies and appreciations, the Christian concept of life was set aside and that of ancient paganism reintroduced. The ancient and pagan concept of life is based on the deification of nature itself, of physical nature and human nature. And as there is nothing above Nature and Reason, from the merely worldly point of view, the means to the final good is the following of nature. *Sequere naturam!* therefore became the watch-word of the Renaissance, and through the Renaissance of Humanism,[27] the vehicle of the former's ideas. The tendency of the humanists was to admit nothing more than pure unalloyed Nature; to reject peremptorially whatever is above or beyond the sphere of Nature and the reach of the short span of Reason. Many of them were startled at the very utterance of the word *supernatural*, as something too imaginary, too arbitrary, too groundless, too absurd, to claim any serious attention.[28]

This secular, inquiring, self-reliant spirit made itself especially felt in the universities. Padua and Bologna became the centers of free thought. A series of professors, of whom Pomponatius (1462-1527) appears to have been the most eminent, pursued in these universities speculations as daring as those of the eighteenth century, and habituated a small but able circle of scholars to examine theological questions with the most fearless scrutiny. Not content with censuring what was deserving of censure in the degenerate Scholasticism of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, they went so far as to condemn the entire system of Scholastic Philosophy. They maintained that there are two spheres of thought, the sphere of Reason and the sphere of Faith, and that these spheres are entirely distinct. As philosophers, and under the guidance of Reason, they elaborated theories of the boldest and most unflinching scepticism; as Catho-

27 See Löffler, Klemens, "Catholic Encyclopedia," Vol. VII, pp. 538-542, article: Humanism.

28 Cf. Baudrillart, A., "The Catholic Church, The Renaissance and Protestantism" (trans. by Mrs. Ph. Gibbs), New York, 1908, p. 15 ff.

lics, and under the impulse of Faith, they acquiesced in all the doctrines of the Church. Pomponatius, for example, whose work "Tractatus de Immortalitate Animae" (1516) has rightly been regarded as the introduction to the philosophy of the Renaissance, teaches that the philosopher with his reason seeks to draw right conclusions from certain given premises, and that the results, to which reason must arrive, are independent of the will of man. But with his will he may hold fast to a Faith for which his reason can afford him no grounds.[29]

Nor were the sciences slow to adopt the same principle in their own respective fields. Rinaldo degli Albizzi, a celebrated politician of Florence, declared that Science and Faith were incompatible.[30] Marsilio Ficino, at the court of the Medici, and Pomponius Laetus at the Papal court, professed similar doctrines.[31]

It is not surprising, then, that the new spirit broke away from Theology and Church. And it was also quite natural that the value of the new ideal should be exaggerated, while the medieval rational culture was undervalued.[32]

From Italy the movement made its way over the whole of Europe. And, as across the peninsula, so over the continent and the British Isles reverberated the cry "Sequere Naturam!" To raise the humanity within oneself to the highest degree of intensity, to know all, to taste all, to experience all,—such is the moral that greets us from the reign of Humanism and the Renaissance, a law that is in marvellous concord with the aspirations and

29 Cf. Lecky, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 370 f.; also Turner, op. cit., p. 426; also Höffding, H., "A Brief History of Modern Philosophy" (trans. by C. F. Sanders), New York, 1912, p. 4 f.

30 Commissioni di Rinaldo degli Albizzi," Vol. III, Chap. II, pp 601-618, quoted by Pastor, "Introduction," History of the Popes, p. 27 (English translation). Cf. also, ibid., Vol. V, p. 140 ff., attempts of the Humanists to restore pagan modes of thought and speech; also Baudrillart, op., cit., p. 19.

31 Ibid., p. 19. See also "History of the Popes," op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 153 ff. and 122, and Vol. IV, p. 41 ff.

32 Consult Burkhardt, J. C., "Die Kultur der Renaissance in Italien," Stuttgart, 1904; also Gebhart, Emile, "Les Origines de la Renaissance en Italie," Paris, 1879.

the lack of scruples to which the political and social conditions gave rise in the various countries, subsequent to the introduction of the destructive philosophy under question.

The final outcome was that the endless controversies in Religion, Philosophy, and Science led many to doubt of the capacity of the mind to discover truth at all. The best known of the Renaissance sceptics is perhaps Michel de Montaigne (1533-1592), whose famous *"Essays"* are, from the point of view of philosophy, a mere rehash of ancient Pyrrhonism. The author entrenches himself in doubt, confining his speculations to the study of the *ego*. His motto, " 'Tis myself I paint," or, as he says in the preface of the above work, "Je suis moi même la matière de mon livre," typifies the new knowledge which he aimed to substitute for contemporary systems.

As to human conceptions of religion, that one appears to Montaigne the most probable which recognizes God to be an incomprehensible power, the author and preserver of all things, Who is only goodness and perfection and Who graciously accepts the homage which men pay Him, whatever be the form under which they conceive Him, and in whatever way they attest their veneration.[33]

Charron (1541-1603), in his famous treatise *"De la Sagesse,"* follows in the footsteps of Montaigne, drawing at the same time on Seneca also: he admits the existence of Practical Certitude as a basis for morality, thus falling back openly on Dogmatism.[34] The same may be said of the Portugese medieval doctor, Sanchez (1562-1632). The latter shows the insufficiency of the received systems, only to infer therefrom the necessity of a new Philosophy of Experience.[35]

This brings us to the inauguration of the so-called scientific method of Francis Bacon (1561-1626), who stands on the boundary line between the period of tran-

33 Cf. Höffding, H., "A History of Modern Philosophy" (Meyer's translation), London, 1900, Vol. I, p. 28.

34 Cf. Falkenberg, R., "History of Modern Philosophy" (trans. by A. C. Armstrong, Jr.,) New York, 1893, p. 49 f.

35 Cf. Wulf, op. cit., p. 484 f.; also Falkenberg, op. cit., p. 50.

sition and the period of modern times. He stripped off from Natural Philosophy the theosophical character which it still bore during the transition period,[36] and limited it in his method to experiment and induction. He thus became the founder, not, indeed, of the empirical method of natural investigation; this existed previous to him,—being as old as man himself, and one of the chief characteristics of the Renaissance, as we have seen,—but of the empirical line of modern thought by which was brought about the separation of Science and Faith.[37]

Descartes (1596-1649) set Faith carefully aside altogether, and sought to know God, the soul, and matter, by the aid of Reason alone and the method of mathematics. He thereby entirely revolutionized theological methods, as Bacon had done with methods in physics. Men, henceforth, delighted, after the fashion of the French philosopher, to doubt the conclusions of theology and the teachings of tradition, and by the unaided efforts of Reason, as being a Criterion of Certitude to itself, to arrive at a knowledge of the existence and perfection of God.

The first phase, then, of modern thought, is a Scientific Rationalism (not a Scientific Philosophy, however) :-- an appeal to Reason, which takes its method and criterion from the new scientific inquiry whose remarkable results had been a revelation of what the mind of man can accomplish. It was emphatically the Individual Reason testing everything by certain necessary principles which were supposed to reveal their truth directly to the individual in his isolation from the life, experience, and institution of the race. Everything that did not approve itself with demonstrative certainty to these narrow and abstract principles came to be condemned.

From Descartes onward, then, much against his own intention, destructive thought wended its way without obstruction. From his "Cogito, ergo sum," Gassendi (1592-1655) argued that existence can be concluded

36 I. e., "The Renaissance and the Reformation."
37 Cf. Ueberweg, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 33.

from any action. He sought to defend Epicureanism against *unjustified attacks*, as he calls it, and to show that it contains the best doctrine of physics, and yet at the same time to combine with it *Christian Theology*. He ascribed to the atoms force, even sensation. In his "Disquisitio Metaphysica," he says, "It remains to be proved that the faculty of thinking is so far removed above the corporal nature, that the animal spirits cannot receive such a character as to be rendered capable of thought." Concerning the union of mind and body, he says, "All union must be produced by the very close and intimate contact of the things united. But how could such a union take place *without body?*"[38]

Keeping pace with this gross materialism, was scepticism. Following in the footsteps of Montaigne and Pierre Charron, Francois de la Mothe le Vayer (1586-1672) applied the arguments of the ancient sceptics especially to theology, limiting the latter to the sphere of simple faith.[39] Samuel Sorbière (1616-1670) and Simon Foucher (1644-96), pupils of Vayer, carried on the work of their master. The former published a translation of "Sextus Empiricus," with notes and illustrations; while the latter revived the spirit of the new academy, and, with its anti-dogmatical principles, firmly opposed the religious view of Descartes and Malebranche.[40] Blaise Pascal (1623-62) in his Pensies, Art. XXI, maintains that nature confounds the Pyrrhonists, and reason the Dogmatists. Our inability to prove anything is such as no dogmatism can overcome, and we have an idea of the truth which no Pyrrhonism can overcome.[41]

In Pierre Bayle (1647-1706) the principles of the fore-

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38 Cf. Morell, J. D., "An Historical and Critical View of the Speculative Philosophy of Europe in the Nineteenth Century," New York, 1849, p. 230 (note); also Lange, F. A., "Geschichte des Materialismus und Kritik seiner Bedeutung in der Gegenwart," Iserlohn, 1866, p. 118 f.

39 Cf. Ueberweg, op. cit., II, p. 14 f.

40 Consult Foucher, "Dissertations sur la Recherche de la Vérité," Paris, 1693; also "Dictionaire des Sciences Philosophiques—(Articles on these men).

41 Cf. Ueberweg, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 54; also Morell, op. cit., p. 196 f.; also Stoeckl, A., "Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Philosophie," Mainz, 1875, p. 681.

going men reach their climax. He asserts of human reason that it is powerful in the discovery of errors, however latent, but weak in positive knowledge. He finally rests in the assurance that absolute truth is altogether indiscoverable,—that we must get as near to it as we can by criticizing and correcting the observations of those who sought it. Bayle made use of the early Protestant principle of the contradiction between Reason and Faith by representing the Orthodox System of Faith as an absolute absurdity, and is thus the precursor of the religious criticists of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.[42]

In England Thomas Hobbes (1588-1679), a friend of Lord Bacon and Gassendi, maintained similar views to theirs. He looked upon the mind as wholly material,—the phenomena of consciousness being the direct result of our organization. The one great and fundamental fact of mind is sensation, which is nothing more or less than the effect of material objects around us, exerted by means of pressure or impact, upon that material organization which we term *the mind*. He admits that the natural desire which we possess of investigating causes, leads us to attribute some vast and incomprehensible cause to the universe around us. However, since we can conceive of nothing which does not present itself to us as a sensuous image, it follows by necessity that we can have no real conception of a real Being, that infinity, in every form, is a mere negation. All is made, with Hobbes, to serve but a practical end for the security of life and sensual well-being.[43]

Locke (1622-1704), on his part, introduced the modern critical spirit. He declares it to be the subject and the aim of his "Essay Concerning Human Understand-

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42 Consult Bayle's "Dictionaire Historique et Critique"; also article on Bayle in the "Encyclopédie, ou Dictionaire des Sciences, des Arts, et des Métiers (1751-80), edited by Diderot and d'Alembert." Note the corresponding ideas between Kant and Bayle. See also Stöckl, A., "Geschichte der neueren Philosophie," Mainz, 1883, I, pp. 311, 313, and 315 f.; also Haffner, Paul, "Grundlinien der Philosophie," Mainz, 1881, p. 855 ff.

43 Cf. Ueberweg, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 39 f.; also Morell, op. cit., p. 72 ff.

ing" to inquire into the origin, certainty, and extent of human knowledge, together with an exposition of the grounds and degrees of belief, opinion, and assent. The sources of all our knowledge are partly sensation, or sensuous perception, and partly reflection, or internal perception. Through the external senses and the internal sense together, we obtain the idea of power and unity and other ideas. We know ourselves by internal perception and God by inference. Transcending rational knowledge is Faith in Divine Revelation, yet nothing can be regarded as a revelation which is in contradiction with well-assertained rational knowledge.[44]

Taking his stand on the Lockian Empiricism, David Hume (1711-1776) transformed the latter, through his investigations, respecting the origin and application of the idea of causality, into a philosophy of scepticism. In him theological and philosophical scepticism are united:—the one means the rejection of the authority of revealed or dogmatic religion, and the other a distrust of the validity of the intellectual faculties and the authority of the human reason. He asserts that the causal idea, owing to its origin in habit, admits of use only within the field of experience;—to reason from data given empirically to that which is transcendent, like God and immortality, appears to Hume unlawful. He, moreover, argues that the "I" is a complex of ideas for which we have no right to posit a single substratum or underlying substance. His ethical principle goes no farther than the satisfaction or disapprobation of him who witnesses it. Owing to the natural sympathy of man for his fellows, an action performed in the interest of the common welfare, calls forth approbation, and one of an opposite nature, disapprobation.[45]

Hume's Scepticism was contemporaneous with the French Illumination, came under its influence, and, in turn, exerted an influence upon it.

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44 Cf. Ueberweg, op. cit., II, p. 78 ff.; also Falkenberg, op. cit., pp. 154 ff. and 175 f.

45 Cf. Weber, up. cit., p. 375 ff.; also Ueberweg, op. sit., II, p. 131 ff.; also Stöckl, "Geschichte," op. cit., I, pp. 285 ff. and 294 ff.

Meanwhile another system, and one of the utmost importance in the history of Rationalism, had made its appearance in England and was fostered by and obtained its sustenance from the foregoing elements, namely Deism. The deification of Nature and Reason; the philosophical doubt and rationalistic method of Descartes; the spread of the critical and empirical spirit as exemplified in the philosophy of Locke; the wedge of private judgment that had been driven into authority and had already split Protestantism into a great number of conflicting sects:—all these things were factors in the preparation and arrangement of a stage upon which the full rehearsal of the case against Christianity might come forward and play its part.

Because of the individualistic standpoint of independent criticism which the Deists adopted, due, no doubt, in great part, to Spinozistic influence, as we shall see later, it is difficult, if not altogether impossible, to class together the representative writers who contributed to the literature of English Deism as forming one definite school, or to group together the positive teachings contained in their writings as any one systematic expression of a Concordant Philosophy. On the whole, however, Deism may be described as a movement to free religious thought from the control of authority. Its main thesis is that there is "universal natural religion," the principal tenet of which is "Believe in God and do your duty"; that positive religion is the creation of cunning rulers and crafty priests; that Christianity, in its original form, was a simple though perfect expression of natural religion; and that whatever is positive in Christianity is useless and harmful accretion.[46]

Deism originated with Lord Herbert of Cherbury (1581-1648), an older contemporary of Hobbes. He founded a form of Rationalism, the basis of which was a Universal Religion, a religion of nature, formed by abstraction from the positive religions, and regarded as containing the essential elements of all religion. He as-

46 Cf. Turner, op. cit., p. 494.

sumes that all men agree in certain common notions (notitiae communes), and demands that these should serve as criteria in all religious disputes.[47]

The chief points and epochs of Deism were marked by Toland's "Christianity not Mysterious," 1696; Collin's "Discourse of Free-thinking", 1713; Tindal's "Christianity as Old as the Creation," 1730, and Chubb's "True Gospel of Jesus Christ," 1738. The first of these demands a Critique of Revelation, the second defends the Right of Free Investigation, the third declares the Religion of Christ, which is merely a revived natural religion, to be the *oldest religion*, the fourth reduces religion entirely to moral life.[48]

Thomas Woolston, in a work published in 1705[49], put an allegorical interpretation upon the whole of the Bible, maintaining that the personages of the Old Testament are typical and not real; that the miracles of both, the Old and the New Testament, are only admirably contrived allegories, and that the Gospel narratives are a tissue of absurdities.[50]

England during this time, now Protestant to the heart, was held up to the world as the Land of Free Thought, of Liberty, in a word, as the Model Land, and the teachings of her philosophers were hailed with general applause. Adoption of her principles was the next step. In France Bayle had prepared the way for it. It was in 1688 that Le Vassor wrote: "People only speak of reason, good taste, the force of intellect, of the advantage of those who put themselves above the prejudices of education and of

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47 Cf. Falkenberg, op. cit., p. 79 f.

48 Ibid., p. 187.

49 "The Old Apology of the Truth of the Christian Religion Against the Jews and Gentiles Revised." London, 1705.

50 See Woolston, T., "Six Discourses on the Miracles of Our Savior," 1727-30; Collins', "A Discourse of the Grounds and Reasons of the Christian Religion," 1724. (In the former miracles are given allegorical interpretation, and in the latter the same is extended to the prophesies). Consult also Thorschmid, "Versuch einer vollständigen Freidenker Bibliothek," Halle, 1765, 4 Vols.; Lechler, "Geschichte des englischen Deismus,"1841; Leslie Stephen, op. cit., 2 vols.; Güttler, "Eduard Lord Herbert von Cherbury," 1897; Remusat, Cr. de, "Lord Herbert de Cherbury, Revue des deux mondes," VII, livre 4, 1854; Hunt, J., "History of Religious Thought in England," London, 1870-73, 3 vols.

the society in which they were born."[51] Voltaire (1694-1778) had thus no trouble in introducing Deism into France upon his return from England in 1729. By his many-sided receptivity he seemed, indeed, to be made to be the interpreter of English ideas, combining, as he did, in the words of Windelband, Newton's mechanical philosophy of nature, Locke's noëtical empiricism, and Shaftesbury's moral philosophy under the Deistic point of view. A brilliant circle of Frenchmen gathered around him, who, from their connection with the new "Encyclopedia"[52], which was to embody the knowledge that mankind had so far attained, were known as the Encyclopedists, or Illuminati, or Esprits Forts.

Connected more or less closely with the above enterprise were, besides Diderot and d'Alembert as chief editors, d'Holbach, Turgot, Helvetius, d'Argent, de la Mettrie, Rousseau, and others. Their cry was, "Ecrasez l' infâme!" meaning the Christian Religion, or Christ Himself. Ere long such works made their appearance as La Mettrie's "Histoire Naturelle de L'âme", 1745; "L'Homme Machine", 1748; "L'Homme Plante", 1748; "L'Art de Jouer", 1750.[53] Holbach in his "Système de la Nature", 1770, asserts religion and the tyranny of rulers, for whose authority religion is the great bulwark, to be the ground of all men's woes, and advocates the substitution of nature, with its unbending laws, for God.[54] As to Voltaire himself, we are told by Condorcet, his panegyrist, that he had taken the solemn oath "to devote his whole life to the work of destroying Christianity, and with it all positive religion."[55]

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51 Hurst, op. cit., p. 117 f.

52 The Encyclopedia, begun in 1751, heralded the French Illumination. See Falkenberg, op. cit., p. 241 ff.; also Ueberweg, op. cit., p. 128 ff.

53 Cabanis (1757-1808) explicitly taught that body and mind are identical, that the nerves are the man, and that thought is the secretion of the brain. Consult "Dictionaire des Sciences Philosophiques," article: Cabanis.

54 Cf. Rogers, A. K., "A Student's History of Philosophy, New York, 1917, p. 396 ff.; also Stöckl, "Lehrbuch," op. cit., p. 718 ff.

55 Alzog, J., "Universalgeschichte der christlichen Kirche," Mainz, 1843, p. 1967. Consult also Harvel., Voltaire, particularites curieuses de sa vie et de sa mort, Paris, 1817; also Ueberweg, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 125.

Another system that exerted its influence on the development of Rationalism is Socinianism. Cast off from the Catholic soil of Italy in 1579, it took root and flourished in the Protestant communities of Poland, until 1658, when its adherents were also expelled from there. The latter then found an asylum in Geneva, where, in the eighteenth century, their doctrines attained to a most rank luxuriance.[56] Their fundamental doctrines, as gathered from the "Catechism of Racow" (1584) and the writings of Faustus Socinus himself, the founder of the sect, which are collected in the "Bibliotheca Fratuum Polonorum", are as follows: The basis being private judgment, they rejected authority and insisted on the free use of reason, but did not reject revelation. The Bible, for Socinus, was everything, but it had to be interpreted in the light of reason; hence he and his followers rejected all mysteries. They, consequently, denied the Incarnation and the doctrine of the Trinity. Christ for them was the *Logos*, but they decried his pre-existence. He was the *Word of God* as being His (God's) interpreter (interpres divinae voluntatis). At the same time Christ was miraculously begotten:—He was a perfect man, He was the appointed mediator, but He was not God, only deified man, and in this sense He was to be adored.[57]

We are now prepared to turn to Germany, the country where Rationalism, as such, exerted its first and chief influence[58], and attained its highest development as a system, if we may call it such.

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56 In Germany the Socinians had, as early as the seventeenth century, a secret nursery in the University of Altdorf, belonging to the territory of the imperial city of Nuremberg. See Kurz, J. K., "Church History" (trans. by J. Macpherson), London, 1842, Vol. III, p. 68.

57 Cf. Pope, Hugh, "Catholic Encyclopedia," Vol. XIV, pp. 113-115, article: Socinianism. See also Kirsch-Hergenröther, "Handbuch der allgemeinen Kirchengeschichte," III, pp. 333-38; also Alzog, op. cit. (Mainz ed.), p. 880 f.; also Wissowatius, "Religio rationalis," Amsterdam, 1703; also Schaff, Ph., "History of the Christian Church," New York, 1892, Vol. VII, p. 631 ff.; also Moehler, J. A., "Symbolism" (trans. by James B. Robertson), New York, 1844, pp. 550-554; also Kurz, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 412-414).

58 Cf. Stäudlin, Carl Fr., "Geschichte des Rationalismus und Supranaturalismus," Goettingen, 1826, p. 300 f.

In taking a retrospect over the various elements that have been examined, and have a place in the foregoing pages, let it be noticed that while all have lent their aid towards the inauguration of the Era of Rationalism, none has exercised a greater influence than Deism. Deism, in so far as it finds both the source and the test of true religion in reason, is Rationalism; in so far as it appeals from the supernatural light of revelation and inspiration to the natural light of reason, it is Naturalism; in so far as revelation and its records are not only not allowed to restrict rational criticism, but are made the chief object of criticism, its adherents are Freethinkers. These three elements now: Rationalism, as such, Naturalism, and Freethinking, we shall find to constitute, respectively, the very core of the three headings under which Rationalism shall be treated, for sake of convenience, in the subsequent chapter, viz.,—the Theological, the Philosophical, and the Historico-Critical. The first begins with Kant, the second with Wolff, and the third with Cocceius.

CHAPTER III.

HISTORY OF RATIONALISM IN GERMANY.

In the latter part of the preceding chapter we have seen how from Francis Bacon and Descartes onward, men learned to question everything, to seek new knowledge by actual experiment, to think boldly. Seeing and thinking for oneself were the twin principles of the new method. The results in the field of science were great. Never before had there been such opportunity to learn. Discovery followed upon discovery, invention upon invention, and it seemed indeed as if the *Golden Age* was dawning. The human mind seemed to be awakening from the slumber of centuries to conquer the world, to unravel the mysteries of life, and to discover the secrets of the universe. Confident that only a little more thought was needed to free the world from vice, ignorance, and superstition, thinkers turned more boldly than ever to attack the vexing problems of religion and morality, to criticize state, society, and church, and to point the way to a new and earthly paradise. We styled this tendency, this enthusiasm, RATIONALISM, since its champions sought to make everything rational or reasonable. The movement started in Italy, whence it made its way into England to be systematized in part by Bacon, then to France to receive its completion through Descartes. Returning to England it was patronized and evolved by Hobbes, Locke, and the Deists, and ended in the scepticism of Hume. In France, proceeding in a straight line from Descartes, and receiving, in return, fresh impulse and vigor from across the Channel, it came to be fostered and demonstrated by such men as Bayle, Voltaire, Diderot, Rousseau, and many others. The principles propagated may be thus combined:

1. Admiration for experimental science.
2. An exalted opinion of man's ability to reason out the natural laws which were supposed to lie at the base of human nature, religion, society, the state, and the universe in general.

3. The instituting of a natural religion in place of revealed religion. God was pushed farther and farther into the distance as the mere starter of the universal machine, to be finally done away with altogether.

4. After being used as an instrument for getting rid of other beliefs, Reason itself began to be called into question.

The Idealistic Movement now arises, represented by Leibniz and Berkeley, partly as an essay to remove the antithesis between mind and matter, and partly, nay especially so, as an attempt to restore the aesthetic and religious ideals which were threatened by the first empiricists and destroyed by the atheists and materialistic empiricists of their own time.[59] And we shall find that just as the Realism of the eighteenth century culminated in the Materialistic Enlightenment of France, so the series of Idealistic Systems culminated in the Rationalistic Enlightenment of Germany. However, as much as this latter movement owes to Leibniz, he is not the only parent, nor are Wolff or Kant,—inspirations being drawn as much from England and France as from them, and especially also from Spinoza.

In turning our attention to Leibniz (1646-1716), we find that with him, as it had been with Descartes, philosophy was a kind of mathematics. Geometry, with its few initial axioms and its wealth of analytically derived theorems, was especially fascinating to this early disciple of an original geometrician and himself an extender of geometric methods. Why should not the same processes be extended to the whole realm of knowledge?—was a most natural question with Leibniz.[60]

Leibniz's problem was to combine the truths of Reason and the truths of Fact into a logical whole,—into one great Rationalistic System. He held that there are two kinds of human cognition: that of intuition, which applies to truths that are self-evident, such as the fact of identity; and that of fact, or content. Thus, that John is John, is evident, while the content of John consists of

59 Cf. Turner, op. cit., p. 505 f.
60 Cf. Holmes, A., "The Decay of Rationalism," Philadelphia, 1916, Sec. I (Introduction).

facts to be proved. Leibniz makes a distinction between the analytical and the synthetical sciences, and maintains that by the application of the "Sufficient Reason" the highest sciences, which are synthetical, can be placed on as solid a basis of truth as those which are merely analytical. In his Monadology, the atoms of Democritus, which were material, became spiritual, self-determined beings, the highest of which is God. These atoms, Leibniz says have neither parts, extension, nor figure. They are but force centers, for substance can only be conceived of, in its ultimate analysis, as force. Space, matter, and motion are merely phenomena. The greater the amount of activity or power of perception, the higher and more perfect is the monad. No two monads are alike, yet they are all in harmony and so constituted as to form one universe, with God as its efficient cause and the establisher of this harmony, which results in the existence of the best possible world. And while he holds the monads of the body and the monads of the soul to be of different orders, he explains their communication with each other by the rule of what he calls *Pre-established Harmony.*[61]

Christian Wolff (1679-1754) endeavored to present the philosophy of Leibniz intelligibly to the ordinary mind. Adopting the latter's theories, he combined them with ideas derived directly from Aristotle, modified them partially, systematized them, and provided them with demonstrations whereby to render them comprehensive. In his attempt to do so, he kept on forcing the preliminary assumptions of knowledge further and further back, and converted the whole reality more and more into rational equations, while practically restoring the Cartesian anthithesis of mind and matter. He rejected altogether the idea that the lower order of monads have any undeveloped power of perception, and thus made a decided difference between matter and mind in their real essence. Moreover, instead of viewing the theory of Pre-established Harmony in its universal bear-

61 Cf. Weber, op. cit., p. 354 ff.; also cf. Wilson, Epiphanius, Article: Leibniz, Gottfried, Wilhelm, Americana, Vol. IX.

ing, he confined it to the mutual influence of the soul and the body.[62]

Wolff seemed at first to aim at mathematically demonstrating the doctrines of the Protestant Church, but it soon became evident that he was endeavoring to put aside positive teaching altogether, and, in imitation of the English Deists, to establish natural religion in its place. Revelation, he says, cannot command anything contrary to the laws of nature and of the mind, for whatever is opposed to the laws of nature is equally opposed to those of reason. He divides truths into those that are necessary and into those that are accidental. Geometrical truths are necessary, and therefore revelation could not oppose them; but as accidental truths refer to the changes of material things, it follows that these may be apparently contradicted by revelation, though, if we search minutely, we shall at last be able to lift the veil from the contradiction.

Wolff's philosophy, thus, much like Locke's work on the "Reasonableness of Christianity", stimulated intellectual speculation concerning revelation. By suggesting attempts to reduce *à priori* the necessary character of religious truths, or, in other words, by the application of the formal logical process to theology, he reduced the examination of truth to a purely mechanical operation and turned men's attention more than ever away from the *inner religion to pure dogmatism.* The attempt to demonstrate everything caused dogmas to be viewed apart from their practical aspect, to the effect that an independent philosophy was created, and Scripture compared with its discoveries. Philosophy no longer relied on Scripture, but Scripture rested on philosophy; in other words, dogmatic theology was made a part of metaphysical philosophy.[63]

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62 Cf. Weber, op. cit., p. 292; also Morell, op. cit., p. 151 f.; also Stöckl, "Geschichte," op. cit., I, p. 461 ff.; also Höffding, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 371.

63 Cf. Stöckl, "Geschichte," op. cit., I, p. 459 ff.; also Farrar, A., "A Critical History of Free Thought," London, 1863, p. 215 f. Consult also Ludovici, "Entwurf einer vollstaendigen Historie der Wolffschen Philosophie," Leipzig, 1736-1738.

Wolff was succeeded by a school of no ordinary ability, whose chief representatives were Baumgarten, Reimarus, Moses Mendelssohn, Garve, Platner, Meiners, Eberhardt, Lessius, Tetens, Engel, Feder, Steinbart, and Tiedemann.[64] Wolff's disciples, however, did not strictly follow their master. In order, as they said, to have no guide but sound reason, they recast the philosophy of Wolff, stripping it entirely of its scholastic form. Henceforth, the very idea of dogmatic Christianity was scouted and even natural religion was finally made a matter of doubt, so much so, in fact, that Garve, in a treatise on the existence of God, claims for theism no more than the merit of being the best supported hypothesis advanced on the subject.[65]

The influence of Wolff's philosophy on theology became apparent when the first part of the Wertheim translation of the Bible, a work of L. Schmidt, was published. The work bears upon it the characteristic marks of this school, the aim of the editors being to depreciate Biblical teaching and to cast suspicion upon the divine prophecies.[66] Shortly afterwards, Herman Reimarus, (1694-1768), from 1728 professor in Hamburg, wrote his "Discussions on the Chief Truths of Natural Religion", 1754.[67] The existence of an extramundane Deity is proved by the purposive arrangement of the world, especially of organism, which aims at the good of all living creatures. To believe in a special revelation, i. e., a miracle, in addition to such a revelation of God as that which is granted to all men, and is alone necessary to salvation, is to deny the perfection of God and to do violence to the immutability of His Providence.[68]

Reimarus is also the author of the so-called "Wolfenbüttel Fragments," bearing the title "Vindication of the

64 Cf. Stöckl, "Geschichte," op. cit., I, pp. 467 and 473 f.
65 Cf. Alzog, op. cit. (Mainz ed.), p. 999.
66 Cf. ibid., p. 999. (The translation was suppressed within the empire by imperial decree in 1737).
67 This work was followed by his "General Considerations of the Instincts of Animals," 1762.
68 Cf. Falkenberg, op. cit., p. 303 f.

Rational Worshippers of God."[69] Fragments of this work, which was kept secret during the author's life, were published by Lessing from 1774 onward. Their very titles reveal their character:—"On the Disparagement of Human Reason by Preachers"; "On the Improbability of the Passage of the Israelites through the Red Sea"; "On the Old Testament—not written as a religious revelation"; "On the Falsity of the Resurrection", and so on. It is to be noted that the religious belief contained in these Fragments, is not that of Lessing, as is often held. Lessing's aim in publishing these articles was to get the people thoroughly disgusted with the Wolffian philosophy. When he had accomplished his end, he showed his true colors, and raised the cry, loud and clear, against its longer existence, and in his works, "Nathan the Wise" and "Education of the Human Race",[70] strongly advocated a positive religion. With all the force of his rare logical power he opposed the attempt of the Rationalists to substitute the Intuitions of Reason for the dictates of the heart and the promptings of faith. "In the matter of religion", says he, "the heart has a work to do no less than the reason". Lessing's mistake, however, was his maintaining that the truths of religion have nothing to do with the "facts of history",—that Religion existed before there was a Bible. The Christian Religion is not true because Evangelists and Apostles taught it; but they taught it because it is true. Indeed, if that were so, the entire Scripture might be abolished without doing violence to Religion. Lessing thus, unhappily, although he arrayed himself against Rationalism, proved himself one of its strongest promoters. Yet, the Wolffian philosophy had seen the days of its ascendency, and had to make room for Kant.

This, then, brings us to the so-called Theological Ra-

69 Consult Strauss, D. F., Pr., "Raimarus und seine Schutzschrift," Leipzig, 1862 (included in fifth volume of his "Gesammelte Schriften.") Cf. also "Freiburg Ecclesiastical Encyclopedia," Article: "Fragments." (The original work is still to be found in the Hamburg library).

70 "Nathan the Wise," translated by Ellen Frothingham, 1867; "Education of the Human Race," London, 1858.

tionalism which demonstrates the whole rationalistic system from principles in a theological manner, and constructs a new theology in which everything of a supernatural kind is denied, and finds no place. It declares the Religion of Reason to be the only true one. Revealed Religion, according to this system, can and ought to be nought else but a mere vehicle for the easier introduction of rational religion:—the ecclesiastical faith will by degrees become extinct and give place to a pure religion of reason, evident alike to all the world. In conformity with these principles, a new rule was set up for the interpretation of Scripture equivalent to "that nothing was to be looked for in the Bible, save a mere religion of reason", and that everything else was to be regarded as a mere veil, or as an accommodation to the popular notion of the time, or as the private opinion of the respective sacred writer.

The origin of the Theological Rationalism may be sought for in Wolff's rational theology, as well as in the assertion of Spinoza, that the Bible is not to be interpreted so as to agree with human reason, nor is reason to be made subject to the teaching of the Bible: the Bible does not pretend to reveal natural law, but to exhibit laws of ethics. By the adoption of this principle, Spinoza makes it possible to treat the Bible, and especially the Old Testament, historically and critically, unhampered by dogmatic conditions. In his "Ethica Ordine Geometrico Demonstrata" (1677), as the very title of the book indicates, Spinoza applies the rigid method of Euclidean geometry to the examination of abstract truths. He sets out with definitions, axioms, and postulates, and advances through theorem, demonstration, corollary, and scholium to the establishment of the ultimate nature of reality and the ternal standard of human conduct: Spinoza is thus really in full support of the various rationalistic systems, including Deism, as previously outlined, and so also of the Rationalism of Kant. The real founder of Theological Rationalism, however, is the latter, as are Wolff and Cocceius of the other two systems, respectively.

Kant (1724-1804), dissatisfied with the dogmatism of Wolff, the empiricism of Locke, as well as with the scepticism of Hume, undertook to investigate the field of metaphysics for himself. In his "Critique of Pure Reason" (1781), he aimed to establish a system of an absolute *à priori* knowledge, or knowledge of pure reason, holding that what is necessary and universal in our knowledge must be à priori. According to him, part of our knowledge is knowledge *à priori*, or original, transcendental, and independent of experience; part of it is *a posteriori*, or based on experience. What he calls *pure reason* has to do with the former. In the first rank of such ideas as we do not derive from experience are *space* and *time*. Kant shows that all our perceptions are submitted to these two forms, hence he concludes that they are within us, and not in the objects; they are necessary and pure intuitions of the internal sense. The fact that objects really exist, comes from themselves and is known by the direct intuition of the senses, but the different forms and aspects they assume, are produced by our own subjective faculties or laws of thought. Man's nature, therefore, is the real creator of man's world. "It isn't the external world, as such", says Kant, "that is the deepest truth for us all; it is the inner structure of the human spirit which merely expresses itself in the visible world about us".[71] Kant ends in stating that problems of the noumenal, or supernatural world, such as the immateriality, immortality, and individuality of the soul, the being of God as an objective reality, etc., can neither be proved nor disapproved: that they are objects lying altogether beyond the limits of human reason.

Kant then proceeds to find a positive ground of certainty for supernatural realities in the "Critique of Practical Reason" (1788). And since Kant, above all, aimed at giving a positive value to the moral principle, as a reaction against the Popular Philosophy, which degraded virtue by making it, not something valuable for

71 Royce, J., "The Spirit of Modern Philosophy," New York, 1899, p. 34. Cf. also Fischer, E. L., "Triumph der Christlichen Philosophie," Mainz, 1900, pp. 21 and 23.

its own sake, but only a means of acquiring happiness, he makes it his endeavor in this Critique to let the whole question of Human Destiny, with everything implied in it, find a meaning and a reality in our moral nature. Holding on to the *à priori* element, Kant assumes that consciousness reveals to us the autonomy of the will, and this autonomy expresses itself in an absolute moral law, in a categorical imperative. The fundamental differences between right and wrong are stamped upon the mind and may be taken as the *ultimate tests* of all ethical teaching. The intuition by which we know what is right and what is wrong is clearer than any claim of historic reasoning.[72] The moral conscience, then, with Kant, is the true basis upon which our conviction of the objective reality of a supreme moral law and of an all-sovereign good, which is the object of this law, can alone rest.

In his work entitled "Religion within the Limits of Pure Reason" (1793), Kant next applies to the Church and to the Christian dogmas his purely rational conceptions, and bases them solely on the moral law, to the exclusion of all metaphysics. Religion here is only an aid to morality, and Christianity a school of morals. Practical reason, i. e. reason within the limits of experience, is the only source of religion because it is the basis of the moral law, which in its turn, unlike dogmatic truths, is alone demonstrable by reason, and should therefore be universally accepted.[73] Thus Kant, who had been reared a pietist and wanted to save his religious opinions, his vigorous morality, from the danger of Criticism, shifted the whole burden of religion on to Practical Reason.

The ablest defenders after Kant, of this system, were Reinhold, Teller, Eckermann, Henke, and Tieftrunk; and later on Roehr, Wegscheider, and Paulus. These men completely ignored the historical character of Divine Revelation. The one aim of their exegetics and of their enlightened psychology seems to have been to strip

72 Compare with the above Bayle's "Dictionaire Philosophique, Part I, Chap. 5.

73 Cf. Stöckl, "Geschichte," op. cit., Book II, p. 55 ff.; also Ueberweg, op. cit., II, p. 181.

Christianity of all speculative depth whatsoever and dogmatic truth of all certitude.

The Historico-Critical Rationalism, finally, has its origin in the department of Biblical exegesis itself. After the Peace of Westphalia, it was found that the bulk of the people of Protestant Europe had given up all faith in the Church as a teacher of divine truth. Neither did they any longer believe, with the first reformers, that the Sacred Books were inspired. Hence the more weighty theologians, in accordance with the Spinozistic principle, previously stated, set up a more liberal and independent exposition of Christianity, thereby adjusting it to the new spirit now predominant in Biblical studies. The movement began with J. Cocceius (Koch), who, born in Bremen in 1603, became, in 1649, head of the theological chair of the University of Leiden. Cocceius was a Cartesian in his views on Reason, but differs from Descartes in that the latter based his system on Reason alone, while Cocceius had his rest upon the Scriptures. He made Intellect the interpreter of Scripture in this sense that since the words of the Bible are capable of many meanings (notice here the Spinozistic influence), Reason must decide which are proper and which improper, and not neglect to derive as much thought as possible from the Sacred Text; "for" said he, "Scripture is so rich that an able expositor will bring more than one sense out of it."[74]

Grotius (1583-1645) was also in favor of this method

74 Hurst, op. cit., p. 339 f.; see also Werner, K., "Geschichte der apologetischen und polemischen Literatur der christlichen Theologie," Schaffhausen, 1867, Vol. V, p. 143. (Notice influence of Cocceius on English deists, or vice versa). See also Kurz, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 54 ff. No doubt the movement begun by Cocceius had also much to do with the Pietistic movement which arose at the same time for the purpose of introducing into the Reformed Churches more practical Christianity, in opposition to the undue enhancement of the value of mere orthodoxy, as brought about by the "Synod of Dort," which held its sessions in 1618-1619, for establishing a standard of orthodoxy. The leaders of the movement were Gisbert Voet (+1676), a professor, Jodocus von Lodensteyn (+1677), a preacher of Utrecht, and John de Labadie (+1676), of Altona. Ph. J. Spener introduced it into Lutheran Germany, beginning his work at Frankfurt, a/M, in 1670. Cf. ibid., Vol. III, pp. 41 f. and 104 ff.

of interpretation. The religious standpoint he takes in his "Annotationes in Novum Testamentum", Amsterdam, 1641 sq., and "Annotationes Vetus Testamentum", Paris, 1644, is a wavering one:—retention in principle of faith in revelation, combined with an actual approximation to that critico-historical and rationalistic style of treatment which is incompatible with the continued existence of such faith.[75] Wetstein (1754), the Armenian, who, having been banished from his native city, Basle, lived then in exile in the Netherlands, also zealously advocated the movement.[76]

The first advocate of a free interpretation of the Bible in Germany was J. A. Ernesti (+1781), at Leipzig. Ernesti was the classic scholar of his day. Enamored with the old classic times, with the atmosphere of Greece in her glory of taste and culture and of Rome in her lustre of victory and law, he came to be impatient of the dull theology of his day. He examined the New Testament with a critic's scalpel, and applied the principle of ordinary interpretation to the word of God. He held that Moses should receive no better treatment than Cicero or Tacitus. *Logos* was reason and wisdom with the Greeks; why should it mean Christ or the Word when we find it in the Gospel of John,[77] etc.

What Ernesti wrought against the New Testament, had its counterpart in what J. D. Michaelis (1791), at Göttingen, effected against the Old. He was profoundly learned in the Oriental languages, but was a reckless and irreverent critic, and made light of many of the occurrences of the Old Testament. He carried Ernesti's principle a step farther, by asserting that it is necessary not only to understand the situation and the circumstances of the writer and the people of the time in which the books were written, and the language and history of the time, but also all things connected with their moral and physical character. And the critic must, moreover, be

75 Consult Grotius, Hugo, "Opera omnia theologia."
76 Cf. Alzog, op. cit. (Cincinnati ed.), Vol. III, p. 598 f.; also Werner, op. cit., Vol. V, p. 306 f.
77 Cf. Hurst, op. cit., p. 126 f.

conversant with everything relating to those nations with whom the Jews associated, and know just how far the latter received their opinions and customs from abroad.[78]

Among the Church historians S. J. Semler (+1791), at Halle, a pupil of Baumgarten (1714-1762), followed the above lines of thought. In him we have the father of the most vulgar kind of Rationalism, which prevailed from about 1790-1810. Semler studied the Scriptures while laboring under the conviction that people worship the Bible instead of the Universal Father; and he seemed to say within himself: "I will destroy this vain idolatry, and if it takes bread from my wife and children; nay, if life be lost in the effort". He began to examine the merits of each part of the Bible, and to determine what is the proof of the inspiration of a book. He decided this to be the inward conviction of our mind "that what it conveys to us is truth". By his famous "Accommodation Theory" he maintained that Christ and His Apostles taught doctrines of such nature and by such method as were compatible with the peculiarities of their condition. Christ's utterances concerning angels and demons, the second coming of the Messiah, the last judgment, resurrection of the dead, and inspiration of the Scripture, all were reduced to so many accommodations to prevailing errors.[79] Nor did Semler stop here, but directed his endeavors also against the history and the doctrinal authority of the Church. So persistent were his efforts against her traditional authority that they endangered the very foundations of Protestantism.[80] Together with the English Deists he held that the Bible is but the republication of the religion of nature; that the world has been taught religion long before the Scriptures were written, though he confessed that in them we find it

78 Cf. Hurst, op. cit., p. 127 f.

79 Cf. Hurst, op. cit., p. 130. See also Werner, op. cit., pp. 11, 25, 13 f., 147, 354, 421. Amongst those making free use of Semler's "Accommodation Theory" may be named Vogel and Senf.

80 Cf. Ibid., p. 11; also Hurst, op. cit., p. 132 f.

more clearly stated and more rigidly enjoined than anywhere else.[81]

The adherents and followers of Semler carried the work farther still. Commencing with his denial of inspiration, they attempted the annihilation of Revelation itself. Griesbach, Edelmann, and Bahrdt pursued their skeptical investigations for the purpose of reducing all positive religions to natural religion.

Bahrdt especially brought dishonor upon his sacred vocation. What Jeffreys is to the judicial history of England, Bahrdt is to the religious history of German Protestantism. Seizing the pen, he invaded the sanctity of every doctrine that stood in the way of his theories. In his travesty of the New Testament, also entitled "The Newest Instructions From God Through Jesus Christ and His Apostles", he made every item subserve his whims. He converted dialogue into parable, and made any passage, however grave in import, minister to his purpose. Hurst speaks of his doctrine as the "German crystallization of all the worst elements of French scepticism".[82]

Others that exerted themselves in this field were Morus, the pupil of Ernesti, and Koppe and Eichhorn, the

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81 Cf. Hurst, op. cit., p. 132. Notice the influence of Herder (1744-1803) on Semler. Herder was teaching, and so was Tölner, that the purer source of revelation lies rather in the written than in the traditional word, and, furthermore, made a distinction between the Word of God contained in the Bible and the Bible itself. This distinction in itself had to lead inevitably to the destruction of the rigid view of inspiration.

82 Cf. ibid., pp. 142 and 139 ff. See also Stöckl, "Lehrbuch," op. cit., p. 745. Bahrdt compares well with Richard Simon (1638-1712) from whose pen came forth "L' histoire critique du vieux Testament," Dieppe, 1678, which, among other things, derisively impugnes the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch; "L' histoire critique du texte du Nouveau Testament," Rotterdam, 1689; and finally a French translation of the New Testament with notes. His "Bibliothèque Critique," 4 vols., under the name of "Saint-Jarre," was suppressed by an order of the Council; the translation was condemned by Bossuet and the Archbishop of Paris and the other two works were suppressed by the Parliament of Paris, and attacked by a host of orthodox scholars; but they were translated promptly into Latin and English and gave a new support to the deistic argument, though Simon always wrote as an avowed believer. Cf. Robertson, J. M., "A Short History of Freethought," London, 1899, p. 332. See also Saintes, Amand, op. cit., p. 129.

pupils of Michaelis, and the compilers of the "Theological Neology". The inspiration of the Bible was openly assailed; most of the miracles it records, if not all, were denied, its prophesies rejected, and Christianity acknowledged naught else than a mere local and temporary phenomenon. The most distinguished theologians of Berlin, such as Teller, Spalding, Jerusalem, and Eberhardt, did not hesitate to enter into a secret confederacy with infidels like Nicolai, Engel, Sulzer, and others, for the purpose of purifying, as they called it, the doctrines of the Christian religion. The association was founded by Biester, Librarian of Berlin, and was called "Association for the Diffusion of Light and Truth."[83]

During the era, now, which we designated above as the "Era of the Vulgar Rationalism" (1790-1810), the worst elements of the Rationalists, emboldened and confirmed by the philosophical speculations of Kant, joined hands to throw out their imputation against all that was holy and sacred. Their support was a literary review edited by Nicolai and Biester, entitled "The Universal German Library", with the object of propagating the pernicious doctrines of the shallow so-called "Illuminism", as Feder and Meiners were doing, with less import, however, in the "Philosophische Bibliothek",—and, in that infancy of German literature, when this periodical had scarcely a rival to encounter, the influence it exerted was more extensive, than can be at present conceived. Its appliances for gaining knowledge were extensive, since it commanded a survey of the literature, not only of the home-country, but also of England, Holland, France, and Italy. Whatever publications appeared in these lands, together with those of the homeland, received attention, and were reproached or lauded according to their agreement or disagreement with the skeptical creed of Nicolai and his co-laborers.[84] Untold were the evils which this publication inflicted upon the popular estimate of the vital doctrines of Christianity. Its influence was felt

83 Cf. Alzog, op. cit. (Mainz ed., p. 1003).
84 It terminated in 1792, to be continued as the "New Universal Library" (1793-1806).

throughout Germany and the Continent. Every University and Gymnasium listened to it as an oracle, while its power was felt in the pothouses as well as in the humblest cottages.[85]

That Rationalism could lay such a definite hold on the German people has its reason. The Thirty Years' War left Germany mangled, devastated, drained of blood and treasure, decivilized, and well-nigh destitute of the machinery of culture. What intellectual life was left had been affected by the spectacle of *evil wrought for religion.*[86] As early as 1602, there appeared at Erfurt a treatise entitled "Preservation wieder die Pest des heutigen Atheisten", by one Theophilas Grosgehauer, to be followed within the next fifteen years by six other treatises of the same order, which proves to what extent atheism had meanwhile developed.

Opposed to this Atheism were "Pietism" and the extreme "Lutheran Dogmatism" of the old school. Religion in Protestant Germany was consequently represented by a school of extremely unattractive and frequently absurd formalism on the one hand; and on the other by a school tending alternately to *fanaticism* and *cant.* The rationalistic tendencies of the age were thus promoted by a treble exhibition of the aberrations of belief.

The thin end of the new wedge was next the adoption of the Leibnizian system made by Wolff, who first came into prominence by a rhetorical address at Halle (1722) in which he warmly praised the ethics of Confucius. This was naturally held to imply disparagement of Christianity, and brought upon its author persecution. Wolff's system prevailed, however, due, no doubt, in large measure to the fact that his teaching for

85 Cf. Hurst, op. cit., p. 147 f.

86 See Larned, J. M., "History of Ready References," Springfield, Mass., Vol. II, p. 1485; also French, C., "Gustavus Adolphus in Germany and other Lectures on the Thirty Years' War" (Lectures 3 and 5); also Hayes, C. J. H., "A Political and Social History of Modern Europe," New York, 1914, p. 229. We may note here that the "Peace of Westphalia," 1648, sealed the systematic disorganization of the Holy Roman Empire, to which both France and Sweden stood sponsor, and pointed out the path to the acceptance of fixed principles of international law and of definite usages for international diplomacy.

the first time popularized philosophy in the German language.[87]

In this latter movement Wolff, however, stood not alone. It was the aim of many of the German philosophical writers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries to free philosophy, in accord with Descartes, from all difficulties which rendered it inaccessible to the generality of readers, and in this way to reach the people, as the French authors of the Encyclopedia were doing. Walter Tschirnhausen (1651-1708), Johann Nicolas Tetens (1736-1805), and Moses Mendelssohn (1729-1786) represent different phases of this movement in different departments of thought,—physical science, mental science, and religious philosophy,[88] and proved strong factors in promoting the rationalistic spirit.

Moreover, in the early part of the eighteenth century the destructive literature of the philosophers and deists of England and France began to make its way into Protestant Germany. True, the gifted and versatile Mosheim delivered public lectures in Göttingen, and Phaff in Tübingen, against the influx of Deistical speculation, while Lilienthal edited in Königsberg, from 1750-1782, his "Die Sache der in der heiligen Schrift des Alten und des Neuen Testamentes enthaltenen göttlichen Offenbarung wieder die Feinde derselben erwiesen und gerettet". The example of these men was followed by others.[89] But gradually translations of the works of the English and French deistic writers were made, and before long the Germans were able to read those works for themselves.

Besides, the tenets of the Deists were adopted by a set of men forming an association of the *"Advocates of Conscience"*, calling themselves "Conscientiarier" (Gewissener), with Matthias Knutzen (1751), one of Kant's teachers at Königsberg, as their founder and head. He, to all appearance, became a kind of itinerant teacher, purposing to *inculcate* the RELIGION OF HUMANITY, while rejecting alike immortality, God and Devil, church-

87 Cf. Robertson, op. cit., p. 358 f.
88 Cf. Turner, op. cit., p. 524.
89 Cf. Werner, op. cit., Vol. V, p. 131 ff.

es and priests, and insisting that *conscience* could well take the place of the Bible as a guide of conduct.[90] He also embodied these doctrines in popular tracts and had them circulated among the masses. A similar course was followed by J. C. Edelmann (1767) who, from the year 1735 onward, wrote many violent works against Christianity, maintaining that the "Christian Koran", being quite as inconsistent with itself and as unauthentic as the Turkish, should be rejected.[91]

No one, however, contributed more towards spreading the teachings of destructive thought in Germany at this time than did the Berlin court itself. Toland was personally welcomed, flattered, and honored at the court of Frederic William I (1713-1740),[92] whilst Frederic II (1740-1786) was the patron and the constant friend and correspondent of Voltaire, d'Argens, la Mettrie, Maupertuis, and other French philosophers of the Esprits Forts class, received them at his court in Potsdam, and made the infidel works of their country fashionable among the upper classes of society.[93]

In education Basedow was the first innovator of the new spirit. He began by his publication of the "Philalethy" and of the "Theoretical System of Sound Reason" to infuse it into the university method of instruction, but seemingly without much success,[94] that is, as far as his own method is concerned.[95] He then addressed himself to the younger minds, and contended boldly for freeing the children from their common and long-standing restraint. From 1763-1770, he practically deluged the land with his books on education, and failed not to unite

90 Cf. Robertson, op. cit., p. 283.

91 Consult Erdmann, B., "Knutzen und seine Zeit," 1876; also Alzog, op. cit. (Mainz ed.), p. 999 f.; also "Acta Hist. Ecclesia," Vol. IV, p. 436; Vol. VI, p. 292; Vol. XII, p. 119; Vol. XVIII, p. 957 ff.—(Alzog, Mainz ed., p. 999, note 2).

92 Toland's "Letters to Serena" (1704), were addressed to the Prussian Queen, Sophia Charlotte.

93 Cf. Devos, J. E., "The Three Ages of Progress," Milwaukee, 1899, p. 304.

94 See Hurst, op. cit., p. 184.

95 The German Universities, with Vienna, Prague, Heidelberg, and Bonn, as centers, became under the influence and patronage of Frederic II and Joseph II, the homes where rationalism reigned supreme.

with his laudable appeals for educational reform, strictures upon the validity of the Scriptures. In 1774, he opened his "Philanthropinum" in Dessau, where teachers were to be trained for the application of his new system.[96] This, however, also failed. Salzmann, Ammon, and Dinter; Campe, in his *"Children's Library";* Becker in his *"Universal History for the Young,"* and many others, were more successful,—indeed much more so, and the results produced form some of the saddest pages in the history of education.[97]

Rationalism, however, was by no means confined to Protestant Germany. A. Weishaupt had founded the order of the *Illuminati* in 1775 ,the tendency of which is sufficiently indicated by its name. Weishaupt was in close communication and sympathy with the Rationalists of the North, and thus opened the way for the introduction of Rationalism into Catholic Germany. Its best known subsequent supporters here were the theologians Lorenz Isenbuhl and F. A. Blau at Mainz and Georg Hermes at Münster, later in Bonn; Ph. Hedderich and Eulogius Schneider at Bonn; the Dogmatic Theologian F. Oberthür and the Church historian Franz Berg at Würzburg, and last, but not least of all, Wessenberg at Constance.[98]

However, it was not to remain thus. A system so void, so absurd, so repugnant to Christian sentiment, could hardly long subsist without provoking a powerful reaction, especially among a people like the Germans, so remarkable for deep feeling and inquisitive intellect. Since the Rationalists, whether as theologians, philosophers, philologists, or exegetical writers, raised a multitude of questions in their works without answering any, they left many minds dissatisfied, and craving for something better; for there subsists deep down in the human

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96 Cf. McCormick, P. J., "History of Education," Washington, 1915, pp. 319-321.

97 Cf. Hurst, op. cit., p. 184 ff.

98 Cf. Funk, F. H., "A Manual of Church History," London, 1913, Vol. II, p. 207; also Ott, M., "Catholic Encyclopedia, Vol. XV, p. 590 f, Article: Wessenberg, Ignaz Heinrich von, Vicar-General and Administrator of the Diocese of Constance; also Raich, Wetzer und Welte, "Kirchenlexikon," Vol. VI, p. 603 f, Article: Illuminati; also ibid., Vol. V, pp. 1875-1899, Article: Hermes, Georg, Philosoph und Theologe, by Kessel.

heart an abiding belief in a God as being omnipresent, allwise, and benign, and a hopeful trust in the Incarnation and a Blissful Hereafter, which no amount of cold infidelity can entirely obscure or extinguish. The Romantic School arose whose aim it was to redeem Germany from the bonds of infidelity and modern paganism which held her fettered, as we shall see later.

For the present we simply note that under the auspices of the above school Schleiermacher wrote, in 1799, his "Discourses on Religion addressed to its Cultivated Despisers". There is, he said, in each breast a religion derived from the object of intellectual or spiritual vision. Christianity is the great sum resulting from the antagonism of the finite and the infinite, the human and the divine. The fall and the redemption, separation and reunion, are the great elements from which we behold Christianity arise. Of all kinds of religions this alone can claim universal adaptation and rightful supremacy. Christ was a revealer of a system more advanced than Polytheism or Judaism. Only by viewing his religion in the simple light in which He placed it, can the mind find safety in its attempts to seek for a basis of faith. But, as important as Christianity is, it will avail but little unless it becomes the heart-property of the theoretical believer.[99]

Schleiermacher here had touched a note which was sure to send its melody over the land. Besides the Romanticists, with Görres as the foremost, and with whom alone we are really concerned, able defenders of Supernaturalism arose in the Protestant Church, such as Harms, Tittman, Reinhardt, Tschirner, Schott, Tholuck, Neander, and many others, who contributed their mite towards causing Rationalism to wane more and more in Germany.[100]

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99 Besides the above named work of Schleiermacher, consult his "System of Doctrines" (Glaubenslehre), 1821. Cf. also Stöckl, "Geschichte," op. cit., II, pp. 198-212.

100 Cf. Hurst, op. cit., Chapters IX and X. Note also that in the year 1817, the return of the centenary jubilee year of the Reformation, by an order from Berlin, the Lutheran and Reformed Churches were united to form the State Church, henceforth known as the Evangelical Church. This too meant more orthodoxy and a new awakening of religious life in the Protestant Church of Germany.

True, the day was yet to arrive on which the Rationalists would conduct their criticism even beyond the province of their authority. When we read the cold, deliberate chapters of Michaelis, Eichhorn, and Ammon, we unconsciously exclaim, "Surely there will never be a step beyond this". Yet, even that step was to be taken. In 1835, David Strauss published his "Life of Jesus". According to Strauss, the explanation of the mysterious accounts of Jesus of Nazareth can be found in the theory of the myth: that the Holy Land was full of notions concerning the speedy appearance of the Messiah;—that the people were waiting for him, were ready to hail his incarnation with rapture; that, therefore, any one who answered their view could be the Messiah. Christ did not organize the Church so much as the Church created him. He existed and lived on earth, but very different was the real Jesus from that wonderful character described in the Gospels,—and so on. On the whole, the work is but the republication of the views of every skeptical writer on the Gospel history. The English Deists appear with all their original pretensions, and so do Voltaire, De Maistre, Kant,—all commune here in friendly intercourse. True, for the time being, the work enjoyed great popularity, in Germany as well as abroad. Yet, as it is, it proved to be a "Ne sutor ultra crepidam" as far as Germany is concerned. The same may be said of the works of Bruno Bauer and F. C. Baur. The adherents of Rationalism saw whither their principles were leading them, and their opponents learned more of the desperate character of their foe than they had ever acquired from all other sources. In a word, Strauss's *Life of Jesus* proved to be *the doomsday-book* of *Rationalism* in the land of Luther and of St. Boniface, so that C. Schwarz in his work "Zur Geschichte der neuesten Theologie", 1864, could truely say, "The Rationalism of the eighteenth century and of the beginning of the nineteenth century is assuredly dead beyond recall."

CHAPTER IV.

RATIONALISM IN ITS PRACTICAL BEARING.

In the foregoing pages we have seen how through Rationalism man came to recognize that he was not merely a member of Society or of the Church, not merely one taking orders from some higher power, whether man or God, but a free spirit, who could sit in judgment upon whatever was offered to him for his acceptance. Man, therefore, must revolt against conventions which Reason does not sanction, and prove his freedom by testing all things human and divine.

The result was destructive in the extreme. It gave the individual his right indeed, but in trying to make him independent of all that concrete environment which institutions represent, it also emptied his life of real content, of those central spiritual realities which give life a meaning and render it so sublime and beautiful. For, in establishing *reason* as the only criterion of truth, this very *reason* not only separated itself from God, but also gradually separated itself from other aspects of the human spirit and became actively opposed to all feelings, aspirations, and enthusiasms which could not meet its narrow tests, with the result that practical life became subjective and impressionable, and moral life superficial and utilitarian in its aim. A limited one-sided understanding came to unite with a cold and selfish heart and deprived man of that looking upward to heaven which Ovid has recorded as the noblest attitude of human nature in the following immortal lines:

> "Os homini sublime dedit; coelumque tueri
> Jussit, et erectus ad sidera tolere vultus"—
>
> "He who to man a form erect has given,
> Bade his exalted looks be fixed on heaven."

In affirmation of the foregoing, we may quote Dr. Shields who says that "psychology is revealing...the

fact that a conscious content strictly confined to the intellect lacks vitality and power of achievement. Every impression tends by its very nature to flow out in expression, and the intellectual content that is isolated from effective consciousness will be found lacking in dynamo-genetic content because it has failed to become structural in the mind and remains external thereto."[101]

As it was, the Philosophy of the Enlightenment could but lead to the most abstract idealism on the one hand and the crudest materialism on the other, and it did so.[102] The inner life became conscious, as it were, of its unity and intrenched itself within its own territory, while the outer world receded to occupy an inferior position, and lost all inner life, since its functions of movement in space had no need of a spiritual principle. It also lost in colour and variety because the whole range of sense properties was regarded, not as belonging to the objects themselves, but as a mere garment with which the spirit or mind invested them. Nature, thus, came to be conceived as but one great mechanism, and movement devoid of any inner connection with the soul, while the latter, through the *à priori* method, came to be looked upon as entirely self-dependent, master of a thought-force dominating all. For the Rationalist *reason* was an abstract faculty, existing in the individual, by means of which he was able to decide, affirmatively or negatively, such questions as might be presented to him, as the existence of God, of matter; the immortality of the soul, etc. For *reason* a thing was either true or false, and that was all there was to say; and since the criterion existed within the individual man, he was capable of pronouncing the rightness or wrongness of any problem on abstract theoretical grounds, and life and thought were made to become formal, abstract, and shadowy.

The era of the Enlightenment was, consequently, cold, passive, and superficial to the extreme, without insight

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101 Shields, Thomas E., "Philosophy of Education," Washington, 1914, p. 309.

102 Cf. Saintes, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 442 f.; also Caird, E., "The Critical Philosophy of Immanuel Kant," New York, 1889, Vol. I, p. 46.

and response, and blind to the deeper elements of the human spirit. Sundering himself, as the Rationalist did, from the life of the race and the historical background, which had shaped his own opinion as truly as those he was criticizing,[103] judging everything without reference to its setting and by the sole test of an abstract logic, it is indeed not strange that the Man of the Enlightenment should have shown a very unenlightened attitude towards beliefs which did not fit into his logical scheme, and should, consequently, seem to him vague and worthless. The conclusion came to be reached that if *reason* alone is competent to reach God, *revelation* is superfluous. A so-called Natural Religion took the place of Revealed Religion having little content beyond the belief in a God who made the universe and set it in motion, and who laid down certain laws of conduct for men in the moral world.[104]

But since besides natural religion, or the pure faith of reason, the historical religions contain statutory determinations, or a doctrinal faith, it was deemed the duty of the critical philosopher, to inquire how much of this *positive admixture* can be justified at the bar of reason. In this investigation the question of the divine revelation, of dogma, and the ceremonial laws was rationalistically treated as an open question, and that so much so, that, at last, after the process of evaporation was over, a religion less Christian than Mohammedanism remained as a residuum.

What made the procedure of these Rationalists—many of whom were really well-meaning men—so much the more successful, as well as dangerous, was that they came to the people under the appearance of the prophet clothed in sheep skin. "You do not understand the mys-

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103 "Nun alles vollendet ist," says Görres, in speaking of History, "steht es wie ein göttlich Naturwerke da, wer unverstaendlich daran zu rühren wagt, den erschlägt zürnend der innewohnende Geist; wir selbst aber sind mit unserer Vergangenheit hinein versteinert, während unsere Zukunft gleichsam als Pflanze hinaufsteigend, an der Sonne wieder neues Leben sucht und frischen Äther saugen möchte." (Schellberg, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 284. Article: Wachsthum in der Historie, pp. 254-284).

104 Cf. Rogers, Arthur K., "A Student's History of Philosophy," New York, 1917, pp. 254 and 387 ff.

teries of the Church rightly, and ignorantly cling to the forms and confessions", said they to the people. "We will aid you to behold her (the Church) in a better light." And under this plea, they razed to the ground tower after tower of the popular faith before the deceit was discovered.[105] A writer of that time says: "Protestantism dethroned the earlier Christianity, modern science Protestantism; consequently, the whole of Christianity is completely ruined and antiquated."[106]

Johann von Müller, speaking of Herder's "Outline of a Philosophy of the History of Man", says, "I find there everything except Christ." To Herder's mind Christ was only "the well-beloved of Jehovah".[107] The writings of Göthe (1749-1832), who labored to cultivate among his contemporaries a taste for ancient literature and a love for the classics of the Greek mind, contributed powerfully to extinguish the spirit of faith. All the faculties of his splendid genius came to be concentrated on the one task of putting nature in the place of God. Schiller (1759-1805), in his "Gods of Greece", expressed his regret that, to give adequate glory to the "One God of the Christians", the gods of Olympus should be sacrificed—

> "Einen zu bereichern unter allen
> Musste diese Götterwelt vergehen!"

and he sighed,

> "Kehre wieder holdes Blüthenalter der Natur."[108]

For Eichhorn the Bible was not worth more, as an historical record, than an old chronicle of Indian, Greek, or Roman legend. Röhr, in his "Briefe über den Rationalismus", says that Christ was a *rationalist* of pure, clear,

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105 See Schellberg, op. cit., I, p. 116 ff. (Görres' Die Herabkunft der Ideen und das Zeitalter).

106 "Der Protestantismus hat das frühere Christenthum gestürzt, die moderene Wissenschaft aber den Protestantismus; also is das ganze Christenthum völlig ruinirt und antiquirt." (Historisch-politische Blätter, Vol. 28, Article: Das Christenthum und Bruno Bauer, p. 161).

107 Cf. Alzog, op. cit., Cincinnati ed., III, p. 603 f.

108 Cf. Alzog, op. cit., p. 1005 (Mainz ed.)

and sound reason. For Ammon, Christ was a mere man. Dinter, a voluminous writer on theological subjects, told the children of the folly of the old belief in God, angels, and miracles. Campe's "Children's Library", previously referred to, encouraged the children's literary taste to the exclusion of religious development. Siegwart's "La Nouvelle Heloise", and similar works, had the effect of turning young men and young women into dreamers, and children of every social condition were converted into premature thinkers on love, romance, and suicide. Education, in its true import, was no longer pursued, since skepticism became the gnawing tooth of both teacher and pupils.[109]

Nor could so important a factor in the religious life of a people, as the sacred hymns, escape the sarcasm of the rationalistic reformers. Having been composed during the "iron age of truth", they were declared unfit to be sung by the congregations whose lot was cast in the golden period of *"Man's Enlightenment."* New hymn books were introduced into many of the churches, and the people sang RATIONALISM.[110]

The music accompanying the hymns was doomed to a like fate. All sentiment was extracted as quite out of place, and *sublimity* was made to give way to a *more temporate and stoical standard:*—the oratories and the cantata of the theater and beer-garden were the Sabbath accompaniments of the sermon.[111]

The effect Rationalism had on the arts may be gathered from the words of Göthe when he says, "Something painful, desolate, almost evil, has come to characterize works of art; and, instead of faith, skepticism is often transparent."[112]

The aim of the literature of the time we find expressed in Wieland's "Agathon" (1766-67), which was written to serve as an object-lesson for what the rationalistic philosophy endeavored to point out theoretically:—the

109 Cf. Hurst, op. cit., p. 166 ff.
110 Ibid., p. 194.
111 Cf. Ibid., p. 195.
112 Cf. Ibid., p. 183.

true way toward individual perfection.[113] Individual perfection was the shibboleth that was used everywhere. It is said that when the boys and girls had ceased reading Campe's "Robinson der Jüngere", they were filled with the idea that they were naturally perfect.[114]

In politics this latter idea found expression in the existence and the work of the "Enlightened Despot", which is the most characteristic feature in the government of the eighteenth century. We meet him in Louis XIV of France, in Frederic II of Prussia, in Joseph II of Austria, in Catherine the Great of Russia. The state came to be confounded with the person of the sovereign. He was the master of his people, their guardian, judge, legislator, and pontiff, as it naturally follows from the idea of an *individually perfect* and as such self-sufficient ruler. As the highest in the series of individually perfect social beings, no other human authority can be recognized. Hence, God alone is the judge of the actions of the princes. But for the "Ruler of the Enlightenment" God had no existence, or was Nature, or the Unknown and Unknowable and hence not worth while troubling about. The principle upon which the Enlightened Despot rested his behavior was that of Machiavelli (1467-1592), who had taught the dangerous doctrine that a ruler, bent on exercising a benevolent despotism, is justified in employing *any means* to achieve his purpose.[115]

The same policy was carried out in foreign diplomacy. Just as at home the state recognized no other will than its own, so abroad it recognized no public law to which it

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113 Cf. Francke, K., "A History of German Literature as Determined by Social Forces," New York, 1916, p. 252 ff.

114 Cf. Hurst, op. cit., p. 188. See Campe, J. H., Robinson der Juengere. Ein Lesebuch fuer Kinder zur allgemeinen Schul-encyclopaedie. St. Petersburg, 1812, 10th edition. Same translated by C. H. Ibershoff, Boston, 1904 (Abridged). Consult also Kampe, J. H., "Allgemeine Revision des Gesammten Schul-und-Erziehungswesen." Hamburg, 1785-1792.

115 Cf. Machiavelli, Niccolo, "The Prince" (trans. by W. K. Marriott), Everyman's Library, London, 1914, Chap. XVIII, pp. 141-146. Cf. also Hobbes, Thomas, "Leviathan," with an introduction by Henry Morley, London and New York, Part II, Chapter XVIII.

was even morally responsible. An international state-system had been erected by the Peace of Westphalia,[116] based on the principle that one nation's gain is another nation's loss, and that the interests of one are necessarily opposed to the interests of all the others. For reasons of state, engagements could be broken, contracts of marriage recognized or denied, wills and pragmatic sanction set aside, wars waged, territory divided, rights of succession disputed, and monarchs dethroned. Europe was broken into fragments, and, with the exception of France and England, no homogeneous national units could be found.[117] The German Empire, for example, in 1740, consisted of three hundred and eighteen states. Each ruler exercised absolute sovereignty in his own dominions and felt himself attached to the Empire chiefly by tradition and sentiment.[118]

In examining the life and the thought of the "Era of the Enlightenment", we need not, then, be surprised at the extreme confusion which prevailed and the accompanying painful insecurity as to the real aim of life. On every side there existed not only a division of humanity into factions, but often a division within the individual himself, and hence that discontent and restlessness that made itself felt everywhere. Dr. C. Gutberlet gives us the explanation for it when he says, "After (philosophical) speculation, in its presumption, had rejected the guiding star of Divine Revelation, it disrupted within itself into a chaos of violently opposed systems".[119] Man, by his thought, belongs to the intellectual order; by his

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116 See p. 49, footnote 86, of this Dissertation. Cf. Hayes, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 203 f.

117 Andrews, C. M., "The Historical Development of Modern Europe," New York and London, 1909, p. 2 f. Consult also Reich, Emil, "Select Documents Illustrating Mediaeval and Modern History," London, 1905, especially pp. 3 f., 19, 21 f., and 24 f. Cf. also Wakeman, H. O., "The Ascendency of France," 1598-1715, p. 125 ff. Cf. also foot-note 86, p. 49 (Dissertation).

118 Cf. Prince, G. M,, "Germany Since 1740," New York, 1914, p. 2 ff.

119 Nachdem die Spekulation in ihrem Übermuthe den leitenden Stern der göttlichen Offenbarung von sich gewiesen, ist sie in sich selbst in ein Chaos einander heftig bekämpfender Richtungen zersplittert worden."—"Philosophisches Jahrbuch," Fulda, 1888, Vol. I, p. 1.

will, to the moral order; by his union with his fellowmen, to the social order; by his body, to the physical order; by his entire soul, to the religious order; and under all these relations, he has received means of obtaining his end, which is perfection and beatitude.[120] Hence, true enlightenment can only be brought about when all these forces are made to work together harmoniously.

However, contrary to the above, everything that appeared on the surface of the times contributed its mite to the spiritual petrifaction of the masses, since enlightenment was sought in the natural order alone. Literature, philosophy, history, education, art, public and social life, all were so influenced by increasing indifference and doubt, that, when the people awoke to their real condition they found themselves in a strange latitude and on a most dangerous road.[121]

Of Rationalism it may be affirmed, however, as of all phases of Infidelity, that it is not in its results an unmixed evil. God has so provided for His people that He has even caused the delusion by which they have suffered to contribute great benefits but little anticipated by the deluded or the deluders themselves. The intellectual labors of the German Rationalists have shed an incalculable degree of light on the Sacred Books, and upon almost every branch of theology. They perused the Fathers of the Church for corroborative opinions, applied themselves to the Oriental languages with a zeal worthy of a better purpose, traveled through countries mentioned in the Bible in order to study local customs and popular traditions, and searched the testimony of both ancient and modern writers with an enthusiasm seldom surpassed. Their purpose was to maintain the human character of the Bible. Now what do we behold? Those researches have been employed by evangelical critics for a higher

120 See Lacordaire, God: Conferences, New York, 1865, p. 140.
121 Cf. Schellberg, op. cit., I, p. 282 ff. Read also, ibid., Görres' "Fall der Religion und ihre Wiedergeburt," I, pp. 440-478. Cf. also Görres, J. J., "Germany and the Revolution" (trans, by J. Black), London, 1920, p. 214 ff.

end, and are powerful auxiliaries in the defense of the divine authority of the Scripture.[122]

Again, by the bold criticism of the Rationalists and their calling forth opposing controversies, many things were placed in a new light and a way was opened for a more free and unprejudiced judgment, and for greater tolerance. "Rationalism was not simply to be ignored", says Schaff, "but in the hand of that Providence, which allows nothing to take place in vain, must serve the purpose of bringing to a new form the old, which, in its contracted sphere—that of mere understanding—it had profanely demolished. By this means a freer activity and a fuller development were secured, and that want, which lies at the root of all Rationalism, was supplied; namely, that religious truth shall not be confronted with the subjective spirit in the form of mere outward authority, but, in an inward way, become fully reconciled to it in the form of conviction and certainty."[123]

Thus has God ever caused the wrath of man to praise Him! The Master Who declared Himself "The Truth", proved by His own life that His doctrines were not destined to pervade the mind and heart of the human race without encountering opposition. The spirit of Christianity is so totally at variance with that of the World that it is in vain to expect harmony between them. Truth, however, will not suffer on that account; and when the issues appear it will shine all the brighter for the fires through which it has passed.

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122 Cf. Hurst, op. cit., p. 581.

123 "What is Church History?" p. 15 (quoted from Hurst, op. cit., p. 580).

CHAPTER V.

REASON AND FAITH.

Through the rationalistic philosophy of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, a line of separation was drawn between the intellectual and the spiritual, between the scientific and the religio-aesthetic, between culture and belief, and the individual was placed in sharp antithesis to the social order.[124] Man stands at once in time and above time; he lives on the boundary of time and eternity, on the horizon where the two come together. Consequently, the intellectual or the scientific must be made to combine with the spiritual or religious element in the life of man if there is to be harmony and organic unity. A separation of these two elements in the individual means also their separation in regard to the race, i. e., a separation of human and religious society, of State and Church, of which Lacordaire says that "they are two sisters born on the same day of the divine word, the one having regard to time, the other to eternity; distinct in their domain and end, but indissolubly united in the heart of man."[125]

Both Leibniz and Kant recognized the danger that lurks in a separation of these two forces and endeavored to effect a reunification. Leibniz failed, since the connection between his primal idea and general notions was not made clear; nor did he succeed in explaining individual things,—his two great principles, Body and Soul, Matter and Spirit, were never merged into one.[126]

Kant equally failed. By separating reason into practical and theoretical, he created a gap wider than ever. He himself, it seems, to some extent at least, recognized the fact, and, in his "Critique of Judgment", aimed to overcome it. The Critique of this faculty, the faculty of judgment, unites those of the theoretical and practical

124 Cf. Turner, op. cit., p. 651.
125 Lacordaire, op. cit., p. 235.
126 Cf. Holmes, A., op. cit., Sec. I (Introduction).

reason, as it were, in a middle point. Pure reason contemplates nature, practical reason contemplates freedom; the judging faculty unites these two provinces by viewing nature as a system of means, constructed by the highest reason to bring about certain ends. Our aesthetic sentiments confirm the belief of the practical reason in immortality and God, and make the real conclusion of the whole system as assertory of the great fundamentals of morality and natural religion as could possibly be attained to without an actual demonstration.[127]

Yet, as much as the grandeur of his conception is to be admired, Kant left the problem unsolved. There is but one way in which knowledge can obtain a firm basis, a sound starting point: the whole of life, the subjective and the objective elements, must be linked into a unity, and at the same time be transformed into personal action. "He, who cannot set the line of demarcation for himself, is put in fetters by the Nemesis,"[128] says Görres.

Reason asserts its own limitations, and will never allow that it can know no more because there is nothing more to be known. The intelligible does not satisfy Reason, because in the intelligible alone it cannot find the explanation of the intelligible; or, in other words, Reason cannot understand the intelligible without the superintelligible; for, though it cannot without Divine Revelation grasp the superintelligible, it can know this much, that the superintelligible is, and that in it the intelligible has its root and origin, its cause and meaning. Here is a grave difficulty to encounter for every exclusive rationalist, and which can be removed only by Faith. Nature, Reason, Science alone, never satisfy in themselves, as all our savants know, for where their knowledge ends, they invent hypotheses. It is not that Reason is a false or deceptive light, but it is limited; it does not, and cannot, give us the whole truth.

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127 Cf. Turner, op. cit., p. 544 ff. See also Pichler, Hans von, "Zur Entwicklung des Rationalismus von Descartes bis Kant," Kantstudien, Vol. 18 (1913), Berlin, 1913, p. 410.

128 "Wer sich nicht selber die Grenze geben mag.. den schlägt die Nemesis in Fessel." Schellberg, op. cit., I, p. 94.

Ozanam says, "Reason is indeed powerful—but it may be said that reason is tagged on to us, that it lies captive in us, until an impulse from without awakens it.... Reason, then, can do nothing without an utterance that calls it into action; that utterance comes from without, as of an authority....as from another reasonable being by which it is irresistibly attracted. The adherence of the mind to that utterance is what we call, in the order of nature, human faith, to which corresponds, in the theological order, divine or supernatural faith. Reason and faith are therefore two positive powers, distinct indeed, but not enemies...reason does not awaken except upon an utterance that provokes it, and faith does not hand itself over unless obedience to that command is found to be reasonable."[129]

Tradition and Scripture, the two great depositories of divine testimony, like natural truth, are equally exterior with regard to man; they are a light which reaches him from without, and if it penetrated within man without meeting there a corresponding light it would not be understood, it would shine there in darkness. But God having made man an intelligent creature, gave him, according to St. John, a primitive light, "which enlighteneth every man that cometh into this world". This light consists in the element laid down in our intellect or reason by which we must believe certain truths as we believe our own existence; it is the understanding that reveals them to us, and reasonings of every kind seem to be but feeble streams derived from this fountain. Dante had this in mind when he wrote—

> "A guisa del ver primo che l'uom crede."—
> "It is thus that man believes in primitive truth."

When Divine Reason, putting itself into communication with Human Reason, as it does in divine revelation, affirms to it that a God exists, that the world was created by Him, that man is fallen from his primitive state of

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129 Ozanam, "La Civilization au Cinquième Siècle," Paris, 1894, Vol. I, p. 272 ff. (translated).

sanctity, that Providence has labored for his restoration, and that God will judge him according to his works,—Divine Reason says nothing to which Human Reason does not itself render testimony to a certain degree, as Ozanam rightly demonstrates. St. Thomas says, "No one believes unless he sees what is necessary to be believed."

Again, beyond the existence of material things is that of mind:—perceptions, mental images, ideas, judgments, inferences, emotions, volitions,—of all these we become aware, and may observe and study them, by introspection; but the Mind itself, the thinking substance, we do not see. Yet reason tells us that mind exists,—we know it from its activities, its accidents. All doctrine is, indeed, a mixture of knowledge and of faith, since the object of all doctrine is necessary both phenomenal and substantial, composed of something which appears and something which does not appear. Science, therefore, cannot be complete without a knowledge of the essence or substance of things, and, consequently, not without faith, for faith is the substance of things to be hoped for, so to say, the evidence not seen.

If then there exists reality which is not subject to the sensible movement or change that characterizes being as physical, nor either to the extension in space which characterizes being as mathematical; if, in other words, there is not only being that is thinkable apart from motion and quantity, but also being that exists apart from motion and quantity; if, in fine, there exists *real being* which is not material but spiritual, then, evidently, physical sciences, including mathematics, do not exhaust the nature and origin of the *real*, and we have reason for the existence of a *Philosophia Prima* which will take in all being, which will go beyond physics,—a Metaphysica or TransPhysica, a study of being as such.

But metaphysics, too, must have a limit, which it reaches when reason has exhausted the implications of sense experience. This is the case when we attain to the concept of a First Cause,—a cause in itself uncaused but the cause of every other cause,—the *necessary being*

which produces, underlies, and upholds the contingent and changeable universe; and that cause and necessary being, needless to say, is God. Here philosophy culminates,—and new horizons are open to the mind by faith as such.

Again, the material subordination of the various sciences amongst themselves is a law that is logically indispensible for the unification of human knowledge. A truth that has been duly demonstrated as certain in one science will serve as a beacon to all the other sciences. A law that is certain in chemistry must be adopted in physics; the physicist who runs counter to it is surely on a false track. In like manner, the philosopher may not endeavor to upset the certain data of theology any more than the certain conclusions of the particular sciences. This reasoning, which we find formulated by Henry of Ghent, is as sound and cogent to-day as it has ever been. The manifold forms of scientific activity are regulated and limited by a natural division of knowledge into branches; which division is, however, *negative* and *prohibitive*, not *positive* and *imperative*. To deny such mutual limitations would be to deny the conformity of truth with truth; it would be denying the principle of contradiction, and yielding to a relativism destructive of all knowledge.

Hence, a philosophy is untrue in so far as it contradicts Revealed Truth; and he alone possesses the fulness of truth—in so far as it can be had in this world—who possesses the *Christian Philosophy of Life*, that philosophy which embraces and harmonizes NATURAL and REVEALED TRUTH, *reason* and *faith*. Life has its departments of thought and of action; but these, though distinct, are related. The TRUE and the GOOD are the standards in all, whether in nature or above it. If man's heart and mind conform to them fully, he is a philosopher and a Christian; if his philosophy is out of harmony with Revealed Truth, he stands convicted of error.

Moreover, philosophy concerns itself with conduct, life, reality,—towards all of which religion cannot be in-

different; consequently, there is a religious aspect to philosophy. Philosophy and Theology, therefore, Reason and Faith, Science and Revelation, cannot stand apart; they must go hand in hand; one must supplement and complete the other. Only thus can unity of knowledge, which the human mind craves, be accomplished.

Science and Faith, then, are not incompatible, and Reason and Faith are in harmony and must not be separated. Man, however, is apt to separate what God has united. Enlightened by a double light, because of his double nature, because of his double substance, or better double principle, the material and the spiritual, he may not perceive that both meet in a single fount, in one single personality, and, dividing truth by a divorce which destroys it, oppose the revelation from without to the revelation from within, Nature to God, Matter to Spirit. From that moment all becomes obscured in an "adulterous understanding", as Lacordaire puts it, and man distinguishes only that which strikes the senses:—the *True* for him is that only which bears the stamp of a palpable and course reality, as in the case of Sensism or Materialism; or he goes to the other extreme and sees reality only in the idea that exists in the mind,—Idealism. And this is exactly what happened in the Era of the Enlightenment.

Finally, after having sported with the authority of the human reason in undermining some of its most obvious conclusions, and having thereby placed these outside the sphere of certainty, recourse had to be taken to some other element by which the place of that which had been rejected could be supplied. Such an element was found in the undefined impulses of our spiritual nature, in the spontaneous working of our mental instincts, and from these, accordingly, the philosophers of the so-called Romantic Movement, as we shall see in the next chapter, sought to originate a System of Truth, which they thought the power of reason to be quite unable to attain, and which they attributed to the workings of Mysticism, a philosophical system which may lead into the worst follies of overcredulity if misdirected and misapplied.

Görres now arose and said to the philosophers around him: "You have all alike mistaken the road; you have sought for truth in sources each but partly true, *"reason"* and *"feeling"* (intuition). Reason is imperfect; it halts and stumbles at every step when it would penetrate into the deeper recesses of pure and absolute truth; you have entirely overlooked the divine element within you, the spiritual nature that allies you with the spiritual world; while you others, on the contrary, have overemphasized the spiritual at the cost of the material nature in man. Both of you have caused a separation of that which is, in itself, indivisible. Return, and see again things as they ought to be seen, namely in the light of both, *nature* and *spirit, reason* and *faith,* and render once more to God what is God's and to Caesar what is Caesar's."

In the subsequent pages our endeavor shall be to show, through the life and works of Görres, the constructive tendency of Christian Mysticism, as opposed to the false Rationalism, on the one hand, and a false Mysticism on the other.

CHAPTER VI.

REACTION AGAINST RATIONALISM.—THE ROMANTIC MOVEMENT.

Rationalism, by calling before its tribunal the authority of Christ, of the Apostles, and of the Church, whose existence and character were thereby called in question, destroyed *faith;* and man, dragged down from his state of faith, which is for him want and duty alike, was transported into a state of scepticism, materialism, atheism. By freeing mankind, through observation and reasoning, from the belief in the supernatural, it was believed that the world would be made happy. The contrary, however, was the case. With faith gone, there also disappeared the spirit of devotedness and self-sacrifice, and room was made for the principle of an Enlightened Self-Interest. "For", says Lecky, "it is the moral type and beauty, the enlarged conception and persuasive power of the Christian faith, that have chiefly called it—the spirit of devotedness and selfsacrifice—into being, and it is by this influence alone that it can be permanently sustained."[130] With the spirit of devotedness and self-sacrifice gone, man's true source of greatness and of happiness was taken away from him, and he was left a reasoning animal indeed, but nothing more, contrary to the admonishing voice of the writer of the Proverbs, which says: Let not mercy and truth leave thee, put them about thy neck, write them in the tablets of thy heart: and thou shalt find grace before God and man.[131]

Men then arose in Germany, as elsewhere, to restore to its rightful inheritance what had been lost:—faith, enthusiasm, hope, and love. These were the Romanticists. Through Herder (1744-1803) the principle of organic unity had come in, the idea namely that there is an indwelling spiritual life in the whole universe, a central spiritual force, in the whole and in every part, which re-

130 Lecky, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 354.
131 Chap. 20:28.

veals itself in the individuality of every living thing. Three great intellectual movements endeavored to work out this problem. The Stormers and Stressers (1764-1790), under the leadership of Rousseau, said: Let every man express his life unhindered, and it will come out in a form organically fitted to it. Just write out your feelings and leave the rest to nature.

The Weimarian Classicists (1795-1805), Schiller and Göthe, came to shake their head to this and said: This will not make art; we must also have our eyes open:—we must study mother nature and her laws, and in so doing we shall establish an organic harmony between the spiritual world (mind) and the world of nature (heart). In the center of their art (aesthetics) they placed the Kantian antithesis of sensibility and reason and the reconciliation of the two sides of human nature brought about by its occupation with the beautiful. Artistic activity, or the play impulse, according to them, mediates between the lower sensuous matter-impulse and the higher rational form-impulse, and unites the two in harmonious cooperation.[132]

The Romanticists, while also insisting on having the eyes open, could not come to agree wholly with Schiller and Göthe. We feel so deeply, said they, the greatness and the intensity of the inner life, the spiritual life, fed by divine springs; how can the finite ever fully express the infinite![133]

Here we strike the very root of the differences separating the art of the Weimarians, the vehicle of the Kantian rationalism, from that of the Romanticists, the vehicle of the forces against it. While the former sought and found their universals or ideas in the empirical world, from careful study and observation of men and women with whom they were acquainted, the latter created their ideas from within;—truth, according to them, lay within their own soul. "Nach Innen geht der

132 See "Schiller's Sämmtliche Werke," Stuttgart, 1862, Vol. I, pp. 81-97; also ibid., Vol. 12, Letter 7, pp. 22-24, and Letter 6, pp. 14-22. Cf. also, Falkenberg, op. cit., p. 147 f.

133 Cf. Wernaer, R. M., "Romanticism and the Romantic School in Germany," New York, 1910, p. 40 ff.

geheimnisvolle Weg", declared Novalis. Look within you and see if there is not to be found a spiritual nature that allies you with the spiritual world, when reason grows calm and silent,—a light that envelops all the faculties, if you will only give yourself up to your better feelings and listen to the voice of God that speaks and stirs within![134]

According to Kant man could perceive the external world:—trees, mountains, animals,—but what they actually stand for, die Dinge an sich, he did not know. This satisfied the Weimarians. Beauty, with them, was for the most part sensuous beauty,—beauty that attaches itself primarily to form, to nature's manifold tones, colors, lines. Not so with the Romanticists. They recognized, with Winckelmann, that a large part of what we call beauty in nature is not attached to the outside object; that man sees nature's beauties only in proportion as he is able to give of the treasures of his own heart.

In their ideas the Romanticists were greatly supported by Fichte (1765-1814). In his "Wissenschaftslehre" (1794) he declared that there is nothing in the outer, visible world, which is not already in man's mind. What appears to be a transcendental background is but man's own self: the *non-ego is the ego.* The world is the world as self-consciousness builds it; but the essence of self-consciousness is the moral will to act dutifully, steadfastly, nobly, divinely. The world of the senses, with its limitations and temptations, is but an obstacle put in man's way to be overcome. The ego has to struggle to win for itself victories in order to rise to higher states of perfection,—on to the great "Absolute Ego", the destined home of all individual egos.

With this philosophy as a background, the Romanticists felt themselves prepared to establish their school. In July, 1797, Frederic Schlegel arrived in Berlin for the purpose of establishing a literary journal, the Athenaeum, as a means by which the ideas of the move-

134 Cf. Ibid., p. 33 ff.

ment could be brought to the knowledge of the public.—Around it rallied, with the above-named as doctrinaire, August W. Schlegel, as linguist; Frederic von Hardenberg (Novalis), as type; Schleiermacher,[135] as the religious philosopher;—then Tieck, Wackenroder, Bernhardi, Hülsen, and Varnhagen, Caroline Schlegel and Dorothea Veit.

The first number of the "Athenaeum" contains the manifesto of the new school, amounting to something like this: beauty for beauty's sake, the concentration of the rays of culture in one focus, and the re-establishment of the eternal synthesis of poetry and philosophy, of poetry and life,—and the absolute freedom of the artists to express himself.[136] What the Romanticists were aiming at, at this time, was to bring into harmony Rationalism, Pietism, and Deism. They sought a God who would reconcile in his own person the antagonistic systems of philosophy of their day,—a pantheistic God who dwells in nature as well as in man, and not so much the traditional God of the Christian religion. "Le rationalisme," says Maret,[137] "a toujours gravité vers le panthéisme; toujours il a tendu à se transformer en cette doctrine." By watching the activities of the great Ego, das Ich, as the subject of self-consciousness, and sounding the depths of its endless nature, they (the Romanticists) hoped to come to a true knowledge of God and of things, a knowledge which already Socrates and Spinoza had demanded for the wise man, and which Kant had sought in vain in the external man.

Yet, the Ego's wonderful power, its divine independence, and the royal rulership it gave man over the domain of things and thought, intoxicated them but for a time. Fichte's philosophy, after all, proved but the ascending and descending of a philosophic ladder, sus-

135 Cf. "British Quarterly Review" for May, 1894, Article: "Schleiermacher and his Theological Position."

136 Cf. Haym, R., "Die Romantische Schule," Berlin, 1871, p. 24 ff.; also cf. Schlegel, F., "Seine prosaischen Jugendschriften," Wien, 1906 (Minor's ed.), II, Fragment, 116, p. 220.

137 Maret, H., "Essai sur Le Pantheisme dans les Sociétés Modernes," Paris, 1840, p. IX (Preface).

pended in the air;—a climbing up and down from the individual ego to the universal ego, with no point of actual attachment:—below a bottomless pit and above the dizzy height of abstraction.[138]

Schelling seemed to furnish a solution. There is, he says, a world of mind and a world of matter, a spiritual and a material world, both issuing from a third principle, the Absolute,—the World-Soul. The system of nature is at the same time the system of our spirit. The outer world is God's thought shown to our eyes; the inner world is God's thought become conscious of itself. The outer world of sense has no existence except as a manifestation of the spirit. And there is but one spirit after all, the Spirit of Nature, der Naturgeist,—God, extending far beyond our little self. You cannot comprehend him, if you look only within. In nature you see the life of humanity typified, symbolized, crystallized, as it were; for spirit comes to itself in man only because it has first expressed itself in nature and is now striving in us to become conscious of its own work.[139]

For a time, now, Schelling reigned as the "Prince of our Romanticists". "The great mystery has been solved", exclaimed Novalis; "the veil has been lifted from the goddess of Sais". Yet, although Schelling opened the way into the inner nature of things, his philosophy did not logically prove itself satisfactory either. Analogies with him outweigh reason:—content means all with him, form very little. But the aim of the Romanticists was to harmonize content with form.

Nor could Hegel's Idealism give satisfaction. With him form throws content out of balance. Reason becomes nature in order to become spirit. The absolute exists first as reason, then as nature, and finally as living

138 Cf. Reiff, P. F., "Plotin und die deutsche Romantik," Euphorion, Vol. 19 (Leipzig, 1912), p. 600.

139 Cf. Haym, op. cit., p. 586. See Erdmann, B, "History of Philosophy," London and New York, 1890, Vol. II, pp. 565-591; also Noack, Ludwig, "Schelling und die Philosophie der Romantik," Berlin, 1859.

spirit. In the final analysis thought and reality are identical. But when thought and reality are regarded as one, and when, in place of human thought, is substituted the knowledge which pertains to the Absolute, it is but natural that human purposes and needs, whose force is felt by us mainly because we are finite beings, should be overlooked in the absorbing interest of that one Being which is all-complete, and embraces and realizes in itself all that exists, and which, consequently, has neither needs nor postulates.[140]

Besides, as our Romanticists went along, and with their penetrating and inquiring minds dug deeper and deeper into the mysteries of ages, their belief in a pantheistic god grew weaker and weaker, while that in a Biblical God grew stronger and stronger, and, with it, their belief in a Personal God. Jean Paul (1763-1825) who was not only at one with the Romanticists, but in a way their law-giver, had said: "There is in our heart a spirit-world which, like the rays of the sun, issues forth from the world of matter. I mean the inner universe of virtue, of beauty, and of truth: three inner worlds which have neither parts, nor effluxes, nor stolons; nor are they copies of the exterior world. This inner universe, more beautiful and more admirable even than is the external one, needs a heaven other than the one that vaults above us,—a higher world than that heated by the sun."[141]

By these words were born new inspirations to the Romanticists. To be active agents in effecting a transformation of the unpoetic world into one of poetry, at once true, good, and beautiful, and thus to bring about the

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140 Cf. Walker, Leslie J., "Theories of Knowledge," New York, 1911, pp. 88, 90, and 91.

141 "Es gibt eine in unserem Herzen hängende Geisterwelt, die mitten aus dem Gewölbe der Körperwelt wie eine warme Sonne bricht. Ich meine das innere Universum der Tugend, der Schönheit und der Wahrheit, drei innere Himmel und Welten die weder Theile, noch Ausflüsse und Absenker, noch Kopieen der äusseren sind"..... "Dieses innere Universum, das noch herrlicher und bewunderungswerther ist als das äussere, braucht einen anderen Himmel als den über uns und eine höhere Welt, als sich an einer Sonne wärmt." (Jean Paul, "Das Kampanerthal," Leipzig, pp. 50 and 51).

harmony of life that alone constitutes true enlightenment, and from which their age with its artificial class distinction and its predominance of the intellect over sentiment, its conflict between authority and freedom, its philosophic doubt and moral problems, was far removed, came to be their final and highest mission.[142]

Two distinct tendencies can in all these endeavors be clearly observed: one dealing with the human individual only, and one dealing with his relation to God. When Frederic Schlegel came to Berlin he was full of the first; when he left, of the second. To the "Declaration of the Rights of Man", therefore, came to be opposed the "Declaration of the Rights of God", in the ignoring or forgetfulness of which he had come to see the true cause of the evil that had brought society to ruin. "Separate religion entirely from morals", he says, "and you have the force of evil in man in its purest form. . . . Here the separation of that which is indivisible punishes itself the most severely."[143]

Klopstock (1724-1813) had shown his age how noble a gift genius is when unprofaned;—when employed only in revealing to mankind, under the attractive form of the fine arts, the generous, self-sacrificing sentiments and religious hopes of Christianity. Consequently, the "Blue Flower", the "Divine Maiden", the "Veiled Maiden", with the Romanticists, meant the spiritual life that had become lost among their contemporaries:—to find either meant to restore the AGE OF LIGHT that bears within itself Innocence as well as the GOLDEN AGE.[144] In their search after truth they threw open the doors of the whole world, the world of thought and the world of feeling, bound together by Symbolism. By Allegory or Symbolism the semblance of the finite is linked to the

142 Cf. "Schlegel's Jugendschriften," op. cit., II, pp. 338-357; also the preface to the second edition of Tieck's "William Lovell"; also Ewald, Oskar, "Die Probleme der Romantik als Grundfragen der Gegenwart," Berlin, 1905; also Geschwind, "Die etischen Neuerungen der Frueh-Romantik," Bern, 1903, p. 35 ff.

143 Jugendschriften, op. cit., II, p. 304 (translated).

144 Cf. Boehme's "Aurora" and Schleiermacher's "Reden ueber die Religion"; also Turner, op. cit., p. 440 f., and Falkenberg, op. cit., p. 480 ff.

truth of the Infinite. In other words:—all beauty is allegory; the highest beauty is spiritual beauty. Beauty is symbolic representation of the Infinite.[145]

Two ways were open to the Romanticists: on one side the pantheistic, with a symbolism that meant nothing less than the establishment of the "New Romantic Mythology"; on the other, the Biblical side, with nothing less than the adoption of the symbolism of the Roman Catholic Church.[146] Here the members of the Frueh-Romantik, or the Berlin-Jena group,[147] came to disagree in their opinions, which caused the dissolution of their school (1902),—to make room for the so-called Spaet-Romantik, founded by Görres, Arnim, and Brentano at Heidelberg, and which, as a concerted movement, lasted from 1806-1808. Its mission was to carry into practical life, social and political, the ideals which the older Romanticists had framed.[148]

It may be well to remember here, that this latter period of German Romanticism, coincides, in point of time, with the deepest and most radical degradation of the German people. August 1, 1806, the Confederation of the Rhine

145 Cf. Schlegel's Jugendschriften, op. cit., II, pp. 427 and 428. See also A. W. Schlegel's "Berlin Lectures," Vol. I, p. 90 ff.

146 Cf. Wernaer, op. cit., p. 148.

147 Frederic Schlegel left Berlin in September, 1799, to take up his abode in Jena, and with this change of residence the central activity of the Romantic School was shifted from the former to the latter city.

148 See Bobeth, Johannes, "Die Zeitschriften der Romantik," Leipzig, 1911, p. 161 ff. Cf. Wernaer, op. cit., pp. 280-302 and 307 f.; also cf. Porterfield, A. W., "An Outline of German Romanticism," New York and London, 1914, p. 56. Heidelberg, which at this time could boast of such names as Thibaut, Creuzer, Fries, Boeckh, and Daub, and was on the point of getting Tieck, while enjoying the sympathy of such men as the Grimm Brothers, Savigny, the Boisserées, etc., was certainly just then in a particularly happy position to popularize the best traditions of the land. These men lent their helping hand to the Einsiedler Zeitung, the official organ of the Heidelberg Romanticists. The journal lasted only, for want of support, from January to August, 1808. "Yet," says Galland, "ihren Zweck als Leuchtkugel und Feuersignal hat sie vollkommen erfuellt" (op. cit., p. 121). See also, ibid., pp. 118 and 120. There are 412 pages in the journal, as published in bookform, and there are about 100 different articles, all of which, excepting a very few by F. Schlegel and F. Wilken, are of a Germanic theme. Cf. Steig, Reinhold, "Zur Einsiedlerzeitung," Euphorion, Vol. 19, Leipzig, 1912, pp. 229-241.

was formed, which was to serve Napoleon as but a more powerful instrument in clinching and maintaining his hold on their affairs. August 6, of the same year, saw the abdication of the imperial office, of the crown of Charlemagne, by Francis II, i. e., the formal dissolution of the so-called Holy Roman Empire. The battle of Jena was fought on October 14, and, on October 27, Napoleon entered Berlin in triumph.[149]

However, with Fichte, the best minds of the German nation, and amongst them our new Romanticists, Görres being the foremost, felt that the restoration of the German State, if it was to be accomplished at all, was even more a moral task than a political one. With reason deified, and God set aside, self-devotion had disappeared. For self-devotion means self-sacrifice and self-sacrifice is based on disinterestedness, which latter, however, is obtained from the moral or religious faculty alone. But with self-devotion and self-sacrifice gone, true patriotism was also gone, for, in the words of Bishop Turner, "patriotism is essentially unselfish."[150] Religion, a positive religion, then, had to be restored among the people before liberation could be thought of.

To bring about the reform but one thing is needed, said Görres, Arnim, and Brentano, namely: that the Germans return to the sources of their own language and poetry, and liberate from the dusty documents of their ancestral past, that noble spirit, that Christian enthusiasm of old, which, unrecognized, is still sleeping in them.

From hidden treasures were now brought forth long-lost precious spiritual material. Arnim and Brentano issued "Des Knaben Wunderhorn",[151] a collection of old German folk-songs. The figure of the vigorous youth

149 Cf. Gebhardt, B., "Handbuch der deutschen Geschichte," Stuttgart, 1892, Vol. II, p. 386 ff.; also Priest, op. cit., p. 40 ff.

150 Sermon on "Patriotism" (printed in the "Catholic Union and Times," June 5, 1919, p. 7).

151 See Arnim, L. A. von, and Brentano, C. M., "The Boy's Wonderhorn in Library of the World's Best Literature," Vol. IV, pp. 2343-2352.

upon the title-page riding along upon a bare-backed steed, swinging the horn of song in his raised hand, seemed like that of a herald summoning the scattered nation under the standard of popular song to lead them against the philistinism of the day.[152]

Görres, on his part, produced the "Teutschen Volksbücher" (1807). With a voice unable to control the tumult of long-suppressed wrath, shame, love, wonder, hope, he told his people of the priceless treasures of common thought and fancy stored up for days of future greatness in the despised popular tale and legend, in books like "Fortunatus" or "Till Eulenlenspiegel", "Our Lord's Childhood" or "The Seven Wise Masters", in almanacs and dream-books, in abstracts of history and old prophesies. To be sure, said Görres, these books belong primarily to the lower classes of the people, to the rude and uneducated, but on that very account they have preserved more firmly what is in true accord with the national taste,—with what is nutritious and helpful to all.[153]

Through the above studies our Heidelberg friends had become enthusiastic admirers of the "Golden Middle Age" and did everything in their power to get their countrymen interested in its art, its poetry, its religion, its ideals and endeavors, without, however, looking askance at that which was good and great among the peoples of the Orient and those of Ancient Greece and Rome, or that which was good in their own days. They recognized in the above age preëminently the age, not of great machines, nor of great financial combinations standing over sullen and reluctant laborers, but of great workmen and of the delight in craftsmanship which great workmen

152 In these old folk-songs the German romanticists saw, and that rightly so, the expression of a common consciousness, the result of a national organization which united the people in a free public life, in guilds and trade associatons, in common worship and in common mirth. Cf. Rieser, Fer., "Des Knaben Wunderhorn und seine Quellen," Dortmunt, 1908.

153 Cf. Schellberg, op. cit., I, pp. 174-253 (Die teutschen Volksbuecher), esp. the introduction, pp. 178-196 and the Epilog, pp. 218-249. Cf. also Galland J., Joseph von Görres, Freiburg, 1876, p. 121 ff.; also Francke, K., op. cit., p. 460 ff.

can feel. And that which was in their hearts and in their confessions—that incessant and insistent vision of a world to come and of a divine order which earthly eyes cannot see, but which is manifest in the Cross—was also in their action and achievement.[154]

Our Heidelberg friends were not to be disappointed in their endeavors. National feelings and national confidence build themselves up upon these pictures of the early days of the homeland, strengthened, however, by the youthful life which progress in development had called forth, while the people wished to rediscover the vigorous simplicity and nobility of mind and heart of their forefathers. And never, according to Francke, has a people undergone a more wonderful rejuvenation in the very years following the downfall of Prussia, 1806;—never has there been a more striking illustration of the indestructibility of spiritual forces.[155]

The days in Heidelberg, however, were numbered. When the Rationalists, Voss and his followers, realized the trend of the activities of the Romanticists, i. e., their sympathy with the ideals and the inner spirit-life of the Middle Ages and their inclination in favor of Catholicism, their antagonism knew no bounds, so that our three friends found it finally impossible to continue their work at Heidelberg, and they, therefore, decided to retire from the field (1808).[156] The work of reconstruction, however, begun here, was happily to be continued by Görres.

154 Consult Walsh, James J., "The Thirteenth Greatest of Centuries," New York, 1912.

155 Cf. Francke, op. cit., p. 429.

156 Cf. "Göthe und the Romantik," Briefe mit Erlaeuterungen (C. S. Schüddekopf und O. Walzel), Weimar, 1899, Part II, pp. 130-136.—Letter of Arnim to Göthe, Sept. 29, 1868.

CHAPTER VII.

CHRISTIAN MYSTICISM AND ROMANTICISM IN THEIR RELATION TO GÖRRES.

Rationalism, in its final analysis, was a protest of the human mind against the Divine Word, in the name and in favor of the Human Reason. To set things right once more, the Divine Word, Divine Revelation, had to be restored,—the design of Revelation being not to create something new, to create in man a religious nature, but to rectify and control that religious nature which the Fall has not destroyed, but only perverted.

Before the Fall man's religious nature and tendencies rested in their proper object;—a God truly known and truly loved, both for what He is in Himself and what He is in relation to the creature. The introduction of sin, being the introduction of darkness and error into man's views of God, destroyed love of Him as seen in its proper character; and as the Fall also necessitated the assumption of a hostile, or punitive attitude on the part of God, it disturbed the flow of grateful affection which His benefits had before produced. Light and Love, the twin-sisters of primeval religion, thus became Darkness and Fear, the presiding spirits of man's religion in his fallen state, and the chosen agencies whereby the dominion usurped over him by the Tempter, was confirmed. Christ came into the world to restore to mankind Light and Love, and to set at naught Darkness and Fear."[157] "But", as Holy Scripture says, "the world received Him not". The Children of the World rejected His LIGHT and LOVE, and satisfied themselves with the light and love as it comes from nature alone. With the men of the Enlightenment (Aufklärung), the endeavor to do away with Divine Revelation in favor of natural revelation alone, ended in the full apostacy from God and the sur-

157 Cf. Görres, J. J., "H. Voss und seine Todesfeier in Heidelberg," Strassburg, 1826, p. 13; also Schellberg, "Ausgewählte Werke," op. cit., I, p. 254 ff. (Religion in der Geschichte).

rendering themselves unto the deification of the creature in its twofold aspect: Mind and Matter, the Ego and the World. With Kant, for example, the so-called revelation is only the mythical copy of the moral law already implanted in our nature, while with Fichte, Schelling, and Hegel nature and God are identical.[158]

Yet, even in these endeavors, we can but see the serious efforts of man to understand the meaning of the world and of life, and to satisfy the craving of the human heart to be one with that Being to whom man primarily owes his existence and from whom he hopes, in one way or other, final salvation. By means of them man can penetrate, and did penetrate, the deepest truths of the natural order. But here these efforts halt;—man has discovered, and is discovering facts, but does not, nor can he penetrate the mysterious reasons for existence. This was to be the mission of the WORLD OF FAITH, the realm of theological speculation, as opened unto us by Christ.

Through Christ those things hitherto only hinted at to the initiated, and revealed to them under symbols and images, became visible upon the historical page. The Resurrection of the Dead could not be fully comprehended by the world until the miracle of Easter Day; the traditions of the Jews,[159] and even of the Gentiles, concerning the Virgin that was to conceive and bring forth a son, found their realization in the Stable of Bethlehem; the sacramental idea, so obvious in all heathen rites, however debased, could not be grasped until the institution of the Sacraments; the sacrifices of the heathens, monstrous as they often were, as well as the emphatically mystical offerings of the Jews, received their ratification to some extent, and their fulfillment altogether, when the Lamb Immaculate shed His blood upon the Cross; and the Demon of Socrates ceased to be a fable, when there came unto the world the Spirit of

158 The foregoing forms the very essence of the standpoint from which Görres sets out in his opposition to rationalism. Cf. "Religion in der Geschichte," by J.J. Görres, Schellberg, op. ct., I, p. 254 ff.

159 Isaias, VII, 14.

Truth to guide into all truth, and to abide with man for ever. That which prophets and kings had desired in vain to see, was now the possession of all, of learned and unlearned, of rich and poor, of high and low. All were called to the Mystical Fountain, and invited to drink;—each according to his wants, and according to his talents.[160]

Three classes of observers, now, have stood, and always will stand, looking upon the vision that Christ has disclosed: the dogmatic, the devout, and the mystic. For the theologian it is to observe, to classify, and to deduce; to see sources and connections, and to bring the whole together into a systematized body of truths. The devout, endowed as he is with the quick instinct that love alone can give, hears the voice of God and perceives His footsteps everywhere. Between these two there stands the Mystic, as hard to define as is the poet or the musician. However, each of these three men must to some extent possess the qualifications of the others, if he is to become expert even in his own field. The theologian must pray, or he will not understand; the devout man must hold a defined creed, or his prayer will vanish into dreaming; and the mystic must both *understand* and *love,* or he will not see clearly.[161]

Yet the Mystic has a gift all his own,—that of "Divine Intuition", as it is often called. Looking upon Nature and Revealed Truth, he sees depths in them that others do not; the historical facts which the theologian classifies, and in whose presence the devout find material for prayer, glow for him in depth beyond depth of inexpressible beauty and meaning; he sees their correlations and self-evidences, and believes, not only because he hears, but because, to some extent, he also sees and handles.

In the degree now that these reflections will awaken in the Mystic admiration and love for the Higher Beauty, the Higher Good, the Higher Power, that reveals itself to

160 Cf. Benson, R. H., "Mysticism" (Westminster Lectures), London and Edinburgh, 1907, p. 15 ff.
161 Cf. Benson, op. cit., p. 17 ff.

him everywhere: in nature, in dogma, in tradition,—so will he strive to reach out for that *Higher Being*, and desire to unite himself to him and to be one with him. But this reaching out, and the desire of linking oneself to the Infinite, to become one with him, is exactly that which constitutes the essence of Mysticism. Mysticism has, therefore, not inaptly, been called the Art of Divine Union. Louismet speaks of it as an active intercourse of the loving soul with the loving God in the secret of the heart.[162]

If this be so, Mysticism must, of necessity, express the inmost core of religion, because in basing itself, as it does, upon the *Nearness of God* and the *Fatherhood of God*, it, ipse facto, conveys the sterling truth of the nearness of man to man, i. e., the Brotherhood of all Men. Mysticism, is thus, must be thus, the greatest incentive to works of altruism, to self-sacrifice,—to devotion on the noblest scale. Sympathy, love, benevolence, mutual helpfulness, and encouragement must be the practical outcome, whether of the individual mystic, or the nation in whose fundamental beliefs and hopes mysticism is enshrined.

If this, in a way, holds true of all mysticism (religious), it is essentially true of Christian Mysticism. "By this shall all men know that ye are My disciples, if ye have love for one another", says the Lord Jesus, the Master of the mystical life. The true mystic, and only the Christian mystic can really be a true mystic, can never be a self-centered individual. He must recognize the above elements within himself. A mysticism which seeks its life in inactive contemplation *only*, is false, and not the mysticism taught by Christ, of whom it is said that *"He went about doing good"*. The god who *"worketh hitherto"* is not found by any who leave their practical energies unused. The mystic must live religion, and not merely feel and profess it.

Mysticism may be said to have its root in the so-called *Inner Way*, the way that leads to the knowledge of God

162 Cf. Louismet, Dom S., "Mysticism True and False," New York, 1918, pp. 10 and 18.

by love, which is so characteristic a feature in the mystic. Knowledge of God by Reason or Faith is an indirect knowledge, a knowledge *à posteriori,* or knowledge obtained from without. Knowledge of God by love, on the other hand, is knowledge—immediate, from within. It is direct infusion of divine light and sweetness and strength, not an indirect conclusion from facts or principles.

The Inner Way played a great role with the Romanticists, and so also with Görres. Görres was a man of the *Inner Truth.* In him Platonism, or the South, and Aristotelianism, or the North, as he expresses it,[163] or Mind and Heart, Understanding and Love, were harmoniously blended. As a Platonist, the whole world of experience is, with him, made to pass through the glowing furnace of personal feeling in order that it may be purified of the dross and only the pure gold of spiritual sentiment remain. As an Aristotelian, he throws the searchlight of knowledge on the whole field of human endeavor in order to reveal what is real and of permanent value.[164]

Relative to this, Menzel says of him, "No doubt Görres has the most dignified philosophical style, for his system has the most sublime unity, because it is entirely mystical; and in its variety again, it has the greatest abundance of beauties, because the mystical unity is veiled in a comprehensive symbolism of mind, nature, and history. This gives to the writings of Görres a biblical strength and oriental splendor. In studying his works, we imagine ourselves in a vast, sublime, and daring Gothic cathedral, where lofty arches, columns, and vaults, are wonderfully interlaced, and supported on simple points, with a whole world of statues built up in them, and, hovering over all, an expression of holiness, the majesty of an invisible God, while a trumpet-tone resounds in the temple as His herald. The clerical unction and the prophetic voice of Görres are throughout pro-

163 Cf. Schellberg, op. cit., I, p. 126 f., Article: "Nord und Süddeutschland."

164 Cf. Turner, W., "Catholic University Bulletin," Vol. 17 (1911), p. 357 f., Article: Dante as a Philosopher.

portionate to his dogmatism. This ought always to be, and is, in Görres the work of a creative impulse, the spontaneous and sincere revelation of its innate idea; and is exactly, as in the case of the poet, the free growth of a peculiar spiritual flower, and under the most varied modes of training, is still the overmastering power of nature, which determines its own character."[165]

Görres was a Romanticist, and let us say, a born Romanticist,—and all Romanticists are, in a way *mystics,* in so far as they advocate and possess the Inner Way. Galland says that who would want to write a history of the Romantic School, ought, necessarily, to study the life of Görres. Tieck, Steffens, Schlegel, Brentano, may each represent, to a greater or lesser extent, one or the other specially good or bad side of Romanticism, but the life of Görres is the most successful and truest representation and portrait of the so much lauded and so much maligned Romanticism in all its phases:—it constitutes the personification of its ideals and aims,—not, however, of its sins and excrescenses.[166]

Görres' superiority lies in the greater nobility, elevation, and depth of the emotional content of the whole of his activity, just because of his truer and therefore deeper mysticism. The religious mysticism of most of the other Romanticists was vague and indefinite. That of Görres was more definite from the beginning. He was at no time a pantheist, but believed in a personal God, immanent, yes, but also transcendent. At the early age of twenty-three even, in a letter from Paris to his fiancée, he speaks of "das Ideal der höchsten Schönheit",[167] i. e., of that ideal beauty which is a reflection of the Infinite and which reveals itself to us through love,—a gleam from the face of God, as it were, reflected through whatever is grand and beautiful. The meaning Christ has given to the word LOVE, as the highest sym-

165 Menzel, W., "German Literature" (trans. by C. C. Felton), Boston, 1840, Vol. I, p. 271.

166 Cf. Galland, op. cit., p. 112 f. (translated).

167 "Görres' Gesammelte Briefe," I, p. 7 (Letter of Nov. 27, 1799).

bol and expression of the soul's deepest need and most perfect attitude toward God and man, filled Görres with light more profound and with the fervor of a more divine enthusiasm.

As a true mystic (in the above sense of the word) Görres was a sworn foe of mere intellectualism, as well as of a fanciful sentimentalism. "May empiricism and speculation never separate from each other", says Görres, "and knowledge is on a safe foundation."[168] He presents to us harmony, a humanistic solution of life's perplexities. He teaches obedience to the laws of human nature in the life to be lived here on earth, but demands also a preparation for a life to come. His genius understood it to unite opposing terms: the finite with the infinite, realism with idealism, romanticism with classicism, sympathy with selection, freedom with obedience, love with duty, the intellectual with the material, mind with heart. Görres was, therefore, peculiarly well fitted to act successfully in the reaction against the rationalism of the times. And he was indeed more successful than any of his contemporary Romanticists, as we shall see, since he was broader in his sympathies and in every way more hopeful, more helpful, and more humane than any of them.

For, although Görres travelled with Novalis the celestial stairway in search of the Blue Flower, Love and Religion, the spiritual life that was lost, the primitive days of King Arctur and Sophia in the fairy tale, before they withdrew into the North where they came to be blocked in by the ice and snow of the insiduous rationalism,—he, unlike Novalis, returned to translate his mission into terms intelligible to his age:—nay more, he derived his mission directly from the great life of the world, as it surged about him. He well understood, with Martineau, that so long as ideals are dreams of future possibilities and not faiths in present realities, so long as they are mere self-paintings of the yearning spirit

168 "Nimmer scheide sich Empirie und Spekulation, und die Erkenntnis ist geborgen."—Schellberg, op. cit., I, p. 73.

and not its personal surrender to immediate communion with an Infinite Perfection, they have no more solidity and steadiness than floating air-bubbles, gay in the sunshine and broken by the passing wind. Görres did not satisfy himself with the narrow confines of Romantic theories:—he took a step further into the broad field of practical life. That which Romanticism was teaching him, he modified and made it serviceable to everybody.

Again, the works of Novalis impress us as happy children playing in the sunlight. With Görres the children are there too, and so is the sunlight; but there is also the grim earnestness of life. Novalis' works deal with the final establishment of an age of poetry; Görres realizes, with Dante, the ravages sin is making in the world, and wants man's purification and redemption.

With Tieck the sunlight is often wanting, and a heavy gloom takes its place. Fate has not altogether disappeared. Not so with Görres. His belief in a benign Providence illumines all the pages of his works. "Fate", says Madame de Staël, "counts sentiments of men for nothing, but Providence judges of action according to those sentiments".... "Poetry"—and of course prose as well—"must necessarily create a world of a different nature when its object is to paint the work of destiny, which is both blind and deaf, maintaining an endless contest with mankind, and when it attempts to describe that intelligent order over which the Supreme Being continually presides—that Being whom our hearts supplicate, and who mercifully answers our petitions!"[169]

With a mystic's eye Görres looked down upon the broad field of human endeavor, upon its clashing enthusiasm, its discordant systems, the ebb and flow of its ever-changing belief, and he drew from the contemplation a lesson widely different from that of most of his contemporaries. He recognized those moral principles which shine with an unchanging splendor above the fluctuating opinions; he discovered the great laws of

169 Madame de Staël, "Germany," New York, 1861, Vol. II, p. 200.

eternal development which preside over and direct the progress of belief, infuse order into the seeming chaos, and reveal in every apparent aberration the traces of a superintending Providence. Relative to this, Menzel points out the works of Görres as being distinguished from all other structures of the human mind, by the expression of the Christian, the holy, and the ecclesiastical.[170]

It is then not from a literary, or a merely scientific standpoint that we must judge Görres. He was a moralist and an ethical teacher. What Rationalism had destroyed he meant to restore: Faith and Love,—the tidings from above, as brought by Christ. His spirituality made him such, and enabled him to assume the threefold leadership: the religious, the political, and the social, in which he stands forth upon the world's great platform. And the immeasurable services rendered in this capacity to the cause of religion, fatherland, and humanity, may well make us forget the scientific shortcomings by which we find his works frequently accompanied.[171] His deep religious conviction regarding a Personal God and Immortality, which he had imbibed in his childhood days, and which an education in the sense of the enlightenment had not been able wholly to root out, together with an insatiable thirst after truth, and nothing but the truth,[172] enabled him to give utterance to, and arouse from its slumber, that Religious Idealism for which the Germans are so noted.

And as it existed within himself, so Görres felt himself urged to express it,—with the same force, the same clearness, the same poesy, the same tone. He speaks in figures, images, symbols,—in ornate, majestic periods, and searches all history and all literature, and all science

170 Cf. op. cit., I, p. 128. Se also Schellberg, op. cit., II, p. 45 (Letter of March 22, 1800)—Görres writes: "Es schwebt eine unsichtbare Hand über uns, die uns leitet, aber es ist eine freundliche Hand."

171 In "Politische Schriften," Vol. I, p. 81 f. (Vorwort), Marie Görres gives reasons for those shortcomings.

172 "Görres' Politische Schriften," by Marie Görres, Munich, 1854, Vol. I, p. IX (Preface).

too, for his illustrations.[173] It is, therefore, by no means easy to read Görres' works intelligently. The danger lies in mistaking what is but literary form and mere figure of speech for the hidden meaning of things. A writer asks, "Who can read Goethe till he has mastered the grammar of one of the richest languages of the world? Or who can enjoy Dante till he has learned to read him familiarly in the liquid original?" Similarly, we ask, "Who can read and enjoy Görres, till he has learned to read the mind and the heart of the man that is behind it all?" Görres desired to see his nation one great family of noble, happy beings. Some one says, "The Romanticists want to teach the Germans to see deeper, to think higher, and to feel truer."[174] More so must this be said of Görres. He could not endure it quietly to see his people oppressed and deceived and robbed of all that is nobler and better in man. And feeling himself called, and that divinely so, to be the teacher and leader of his people,[175] he meant to be such in the fullest sense of the word.

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173 Cf. Gumposch, V. S., "Die philosophische Literatur der Deutschen, von 1400 bis auf unsere Tage," Regensburg, 1851, p. 400 (Boerne admires the style of Görres, but complains of the presence of too much religion).

174 "Die Romantiker wollen die Deutschen tiefer sehen, grösser denken, wahrer fühlen lehren."—Joachimi, Marie, "Die Weltanschauung der Romantik," Jena und Leipzig, 1905, p. VII (Preface).

175 Cf. "Politische Schriften," I, p. 4.

CHAPTER VIII.

LIFE OF GÖRRES, AS ROOTED IN CHRISTIAN MYSTICISM, IN ITS STRUGGLE AGAINST RATIONALISM.

Johann Joseph Görres was born on the feast of the Conversion of St. Paul, January 25, 1776, A. D., in the city of Coblenz, on the romantic banks of the river Rhine, in the traditional land of Christian piety, valor, beauty, poetry, and art.[176] His father, Morris Görres, a timber merchant of substantial means, was a man of the highest integrity and of a dignity of character which commanded the respect of every one. The mother, Helena Theresia Görres, née Mazza, Italian by descent, as the name indicates, was a quiet and thrifty housekeeper, and free from that excitability so characteristic in the Southerner. Both parents were deeply religious and failed not to impress early upon the minds of their children their relationship to God in its various bearings.[177]

Thus nature, home, religious, and social life worked together, in the days of childhood, to impress upon the character of Görres an indelible mark, namely the impress of nature's warmth and nobility, seconded by the inculcation of Christian ideals, which failed not to develop in him an elevated turn of mind, a deep sense of divine things, and an aspiration after rectitude which never left him.[178]

At the proper age young Görres was sent to a school

176 J. N. Sepp, a pupil and admirer of Görres, has immortalized the sceneries about the birth-place of his master very fitly in the following lines:

> "Weithin und breithin ergiest sich der Rhein
> Kirchen und Thuerme begruessen uns drein,
> Berge und Burgen umthronen ihn schier,
> Friedliche Menschen umwohnen ihn hier."
> —Görres, Berlin, 1896, p. 6.

177 Cf. Galland, op. cit., p. 9 f.

178 Read letter of Görres to Miss K. Lassaulx, Paris, Jan. 30, 1800 (Schellberg, op. cit., II, pp. 19-28).

for boys, a so-called Vorschule (preparatory school), and at the age of nine to the Latin school, which, for two hundred years, had been connected with the Jesuit College (Gymnasium) at Coblenz, but which latter had now been taken over by the government,[179] and had for teachers mostly professors of the so-called NEW LEARNING. There is still extant a noteworthy certificate, which Görres received on the completion of his course at the Latin school, in August, 1789. It reads as follows: "Felicissimum ingenium, diligentia ingenio non satis congrua, progressus satis magnus, mores pueriles."[180]

In the fall of the same year (1789), Görres entered the Gymnasium, referred to above. Here he distinguished himself in such branches of study as history, physics, physiology, the natural sciences, geography, and astronomy. Endowed with a mind mathematically acute and quick of comprehension, he had a surpassing facility of acquisition for that which interested him, but cared little for the merely technical parts of education.[181] His social relations as student were significant as well as pleasant. His high intelligence, his "mores pueriles", and his love for exploits of all kinds made him, not only a favorite with his companions and fellow students, but also their leader, while his kindliness and cordiality opened for him the doors everywhere.

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179 Clement XIV, by the brief "Dominus ac Redemptor Noster," dated July 21, 1773, yielding to the demands of the princes of the House of Bourbon, suppressed the Society of Jesus. On the publication of the Bull, Maria Theresa, who had so far held back from the general attack that was then raging against the Society, especially in France, pressed by her ministers and counsellors, did not hesitate to put it into execution. Over 200 gymnasia, amongst them that of Coblenz, were taken over by the government under the plea that nothing had been done to keep in touch with modern development. (Frederic II, King of Prussia, believed, with Lord Bacon and Leibniz, that, if he would have really good schools, he must have those of the Jesuits). See: Alzog op. cit., Cincinnati ed., III, pp. 569-572; Atkinson, C. F., "A History of Germany," 1715-1815, London, 1908, p. 331 f.; Theiner, "Geschichte der geistlichen Bildungsanstalten," Mainz, 1835, p. 289 ff.

180 Cf. Galland, op. cit., p. 23. See also Schellberg, W., Joseph von Görres, M. Gladbach, 1913, p. 5.

181 Cf. Schellberg, op. cit., II, p. 274 f. (Letter to Jac. Grimm, May 23, 1819).

Görres early developed great fondness for reading, showing preference for history, accounts of travel, folklore, and legends, as well as for religious literature, and he loved art and antiquities, for the study of which latter he had ample opportunities among the old ruins in the environment.[182] His mind became thus early a vast storehouse of informatory details of all kinds. The great past, especially that of Chivalry and Noble Deeds, became to him a living presence and the talisman to lead him safely through life's dark paths,—on to the meadows of honor and righteous living.[183]

Görres, however, by no means, remained untouched by the Zeitgeist. At the early age of twelve (1788), we find him composing a poem overflowing with sarcasm against the Papal Court and the Episcopal Court of Chur-Trier, which latter had its residence in Coblenz since 1786.[184]

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182 Cf. Ibid., II, p. 51 f. (Letter to Miss Lassaulx March 27, 1800).

183 Cf. Ibid., p. 22 ff. (Letter to Miss Lassaulx, Jan. 30, 1800); see also, Heinrich, J. B., "Joseph von Görres," Frankfurt a/M, 1867, p. 5 .

184 Cf. Sepp, op. cit., p. 12. It may be well to take note here that while Deism, Atheism, and Rationalism were joining hands at this time, to carry on an unrelenting warfare against Christianity, Jansenism, too, became active and influential in Catholic Germany. Towards the close of the reign of Maria Theresa (+1780), a spirit of distrust towards the Holy See began to display itself; the odious placet, the "Placetum regium," on all papal bulls was established in imitation of France. Thus those principles of hostility to papal and episcopal power, which characterized the French Jansenists of the eighteenth century, distracting and convulsing the "Oldest Daughter of the Church" at the moment when she would have needed her combined energies and resources in order to resist infidelity, found their way into Catholic Germany, where the relaxation of discipline and the growing lukewarmness among a large portion of the clergy and laity, due to the adoption of the principles of the Enlightenment, presented a most prolific soil for their growth and adoption. Joseph II, son and successor of Maria Theresa, had thus little trouble to extend and diffuse Jansenism. Embued with its maxims, as well as with those of Illuminism and Enlightenment, and assisted by the counsels of Baron Gottfried von Swieden, and upheld by John Nicolas of Hontheim (Febronius), suffragan bishop to the Elector of Treves (Trier), the defender of Jansenism in Germany,—himself vain, frivolous, and egotistical, yet not devoid of benevolent feelings, he, Joseph II, became, by his perverted philanthropy, the curse of his subjects. Cf. Gebhardt, B., "Handbuch der deutschen Geschichte," Stuttgart, 1892, Vol. II, pp. 335-340; Atkinson, op. cit., p. 328 ff.; Alzog, op. cit., III, pp. 542-546; "Hist.-pol. Blätter," Vol. 27, pp. 635-673 and 714-737, Article: Joseph's II. "Regentencharakter und seine Reformen."

A year later, Görres heard of the outbreak of the French Revolution: the literature of its advocates is wafted towards the Rhine; the high-sounding terms "Liberty", "Equality", "Universal Brotherhood", "Rights of Man", captivate him, as they did a Klopstock, a Herder, the Stolbergs, and many others. Being of an ardent temperament, clear and strong in intellect, and of a glowing imagination, he shared enthusiastically, even at this early age, in the liberal, patriotic aspirations, the deep-rooted disappointments and ardent hopes of his time. On leaving the Gymnasium, in 1793, he declined the opportunity that was offered him, of entering the University of Bonn for the study of medicine, in order to be free to take an active part in the struggle that promised to bring to the world universal happiness and prosperity. Youth sees but the outward glimmer and takes no note of the deceit and danger that may lurk beneath.[185]

To further the interests of the Revolutionists, Görres wrote in 1795, at least in its essence, and published in 1797, his "Der Allgemeine Frieden, ein Ideal" (Universal Peace, an Ideal). In most bitter and sarcastic terms he arrays before his tribunal Church and State,[186] Religious and Civil Institutions, and advocates the "Eternal Peace", as demonstrated by Rousseau and St. Pierre, and as defended by Kant against the Empiricists.[187]

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185 No doubt, Görres thought of the aberrations of his youth when he wrote warningly, in 1810, "Vor allem huete die Jugend sich vor frevelhaftem Uebermute, nur in dem was sie vollbringt, nicht im guten Willen, mag sie die Vergangenheit uebertreffen.—Schellberg, op. cit., I, p. XX (Einleitung).

186 Many of the French clergy and nobility who had fled from their native land, had sought and found refuge in Germany. Especially in Coblenz, did many of them find open-hearted hospitality, among others the Dukes of Provence and Artois, the later kings Louis XVII and Charles X, whose uncle was the Elector Clemens Wenceslaus of Trier (Treves), previously referred to. In Coblenz, now, amidst the emigrant French nobility, the lascivious life of the Court of Versailles, in all its indifferentism and disdain towards religion and morals, was openly and freely avowed and continued, much to the annoyance of the better minds amongst the Germans.

187 Cf. Schellberg, "Gesammelte Werke," op. cit., I, p. 8; also Galland, op. cit., p. 44. (In vindication of Görres' attitude of this time, see Schellberg, op. cit., I, p. XX ff., Einleitung, and, ibid., II, p. 22 ff. (Letter of Görres to Miss Lassaulx of Jan. 30, 1800); also Galland, op. cit., p. 31 ff.

"Non, si male nunc, et olim sic erit," he says, hopefully, with Horace,[188] at the close of its introduction. Later in the year (1797) the paper was converted into "Das Rote Blatt" (The Red Letter), which, in turn, came to be "Ruebezahl" (Puck in Blue). All these publications are written in the spirit of a full-fledged Jacobin and son of the Zeitgeist, yet, even these distinguish themselves for their historical and philosophical depth of thought, and much sound reasoning.

Concurrent with the above literary activity, Görres' uncommon political talent, his vigorous and powerful eloquence, and his determined, persevering character, had gained for him also great weight in the clubs.[189]

Ere long, however, Görres, together with the people of the Rhinelands, came to recognize the curse of foreign dominion, and amidst tears and repentance, they rose to rediscover their lost fatherland.[190] It was in the "Ruebezahl" that Görres began his onslaught against the new régime. The French government threatened to prohibit the publication. Görres answered in the next issue with a quotation from Cicero: "Est enim in nobis is animus, ut non modo nullius audaciae cedamus, sed etiam omnes improbos ultro semper lacessamus". And that which Cicero had so pathetically pronounced from the rostrum, Görres carried out in his life to the letter,[191] as the subsequent pages will show.

In the autumn of 1799, the Rhinelanders decided to send a deputation to Paris to demand the cessation of the oppressive occupation of their country. Görres was

188 Hor. Od., Lib. II, Od. X, 1, 17-18 (Chase-Stuart ed.); also Schellberg, "Gesammelte Werke," op. cit., I, p. 9.

189 Cf. Schellberg, ibid., p. XXV f.; see also ibid., I, p. 16 ff. (Speech of Görres). Cf. also Müller, Karl Alex. von, "Der junge Görres," "Archiv für Kulturgeschichte," Vol. 10, p. 424.

190 The Rhinelands were by this time entirely in the hands of the French, which latter had at first not only been welcomed most enthusiastically by Görres, but also by many of his countrymen, as harbingers of "Universal Happiness." Instead of that, followed suppression after suppression, so that conditions became, finally, intolerable. See: Gebhardt, op. cit., II, p. 379 ff.; Atkinson, op. cit., p. 409 ff.; Galland, op. cit., p. 63 ff., and von Müller, op. cit., p. 418 f.

191 Cf. Galland, op. cit., p. 59 ff.

chosen the representative of the Rhine—and Moseldepartement; hence, was one of the party.[192] They arrived in Paris on the 30. Brumaire, year VII (November 20, 1799). Here in Paris, Görres viewed in its true light the fruit of the seed planted long ago by a Rousseau, a Voltaire, a Helvetius, a Diderot, and other encyclopedists, who with their brilliant and fascinating, yet false theories of *liberty* and *back to nature*, had weakened long-cherished truths, mocked virtue, and made men restive under any restraint, whether human or divine.

Görres was utterly disappointed. "Only six days am I here and I am already filled to overflowing with disgust for this morass overgrown with flowers," he writes to his fiancée.[193] No, that was not the realization of Görres' concept of Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity. In a pamphlet entitled "Resultate meiner Sendung nach Paris", (Results of my mission to Paris), he gave a full account of his mission, and expressed a complete change in his political opinions, after he had clearly seen the deep abyss in which the Revolution had ended.[194]

The above work constitutes the boundary stone in the spiritual, social, and political development of Görres. True, for the time being, Kant is still his ideal representative of the German mind; Fichte's Ego, to a certain extent, continues to enthrall him, and, for some time at least, he remains under the influence of the men of the Aufklaerung. But, he had come to realize, and became more and more convinced, as time went on, that human life is not an ephemeral and superficial, but an immortal and central power having its roots in God, and drawing from Him its substance and sustenance. Consequently,

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192 In the earlier part of 1809, Görres, with three others, had already been sent to Mainz to demand a redress of grievances. Hardly had they left Coblenz, when the French got an inkling of their mission, and ordered their arrest and kept them prisoners for twenty days. (See Galland, op. cit., p. 63).

193 Schellberg, op. cit., p. 12 (Letter of Nov. 27, 1799), translated. Cf. also Galland, op. cit., pp. 68-72.

194 See Politische Schriften, op. cit., I, pp. 25-113.

when that source is removed, death and corruption must follow.[195]

On his return from Paris, in February, 1800, Görres retired to private life at Coblenz,[196] assuming the chair of natural history and science in the secondary school (Secundaerschule)[197] of that city, assigned to him by the Board of Directors, previous to his departure for Paris. His work, "Resultate meiner Sendung nach Paris" of May 10, 1800, mentioned above, is called by him, in the introduction, *his political testament.* On September 14, 1801, he married Katharina de Lassaulx, a highly intelligent young lady, who proved to him a devoted and congenial companion throughout life.[198]

Here in Coblenz, Görres' predilection for the natural sciences and for art asserted itself anew. Consequently, every spare moment, that his professional duties left him, were utilized in the study of physics, physiology, astronomy, and medicine,[199] and in the study of art, especially that of ancient Greece, and the Italian, in which he

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195 Cf. Schellberg, op. cit., II, p. 12 ff. (Letter to Miss Lassaulx, of Nov. 27, 1799).

196 Galland says, for a publicist as fearless, as truth-loving, and as free from party-spirit, as was Görres, it certainly would not have been advisable to remain in the field (of politics), where in those days only a panegyrist and an adulator, a hireling and a government parasite, could find a remunerative soil. (Cf. op. cit., p. 84 f.), translated. In his "Aphorismen ueber die Kunst," Görres says: "Keinem Parteifuehrer mag ich unbedingt huldigen, kein neuer Parteifuehrer mag ich werden; fuer das eine habe ich zu vielen Stolz, fuer das andere zu wenig Eitelkeit." (Schellberg, op. cit., I, p. 71 f.) However, Görres surrendered not his faith in the Providence of a Higher Power concerning a change for the better in freedom's arms. With hopeful gaze into the future, he had written in Ruebezahl: "The morning dawn of the Nineteenth Century rises above the distant horizon, perhaps its setting sun will behold that which we are but permitted to desire." (Galland, op. cit., 62, translated).

197 Cf. Görres' "Politisches Credo," Schellberg, op. cit., I, p. 35 ff. Its rank was about that of the modern German lyceum.

198 Cf. Galland, op. cit., pp. 86 and 104 ff.; also "Historisch-Politische Blaetter," No. 32, p. 571 ff.

199 According to E. von Lassaulx, Görres even practiced medicine at this time. His medical opinions are given in the Ällgemeine Medizinische Annalen von Altenburg," April, 1802. Cf. Galland, op. cit., p. 86 f., and "Görres' Gesammelte Briefe," op. cit., Vol. II, p. 1 f., Letter of July 21, 1802.

had become intensely interested during his sojourn in Paris.[200]

With these studies, Görres evidently combined deep philosophical speculations. In a letter of May 4, 1800, he writes to Miss Lassaulx, who was then visiting the Brentanos in Frankfurt a/M: "The study of nature lets us surmise that our intellectual knowledge is, in the first place, dependent (gebunden an) on one of the more subtle substances in nature, perhaps on light or electricity; the body decomposes, these substances are set free and become dispersed, but neither substance nor matter passes out of existence; the quantity of existing things always remains the same. Should it be otherwise with our spiritual nature (Geist) ;—should that element in us, which alone gives us existence, be doomed to destruction?..With..my whole faith (Glaube) I oppose, resist, the destruction of my individuality....No one shall rob me of my belief in immortality."[201]

As a result of these studies, there came from the pen of Görres, in 1801, his "Aphorismen ueber die Kunst,"[202] as an introduction towards aphorisms on organology, physics, physiology, and anthropology. This work, especially, gives testimony of the exceptionally penetrating and reflective mind of the author. The culinary art he calls here the "Plastic Art of Fluidity" (die Plastik des Fluessigen), and the art of making perfumes the "Music of Fragrances" (die Musik der Duefte). In conclusion he says, "Life, love, and knowledge", are the three threads that constitute the texture into which our existence is woven:—organism is life; art is love; science is knowledge; the highest act of personality is the act of reproduction; death there where these three "Charitinnen" flee from each other's embrace."[203]

Next followed "Fourcroy's Synoptic Table" (1802), a

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200 Rare treasures of art had just then arrived in Paris as trophies of Napoleon's Italian campaign. (See Schellberg, op. cit., II, p. 17 f.—Letter to Miss Lassaulx Dec. 7, 1799. Read also, ibid., I, pp. 107-110: "Die Antiken zu Paris").

201 Schellberg, op. cit., II, p. 68 ff. (translated).

202 Ibid., I, pp. 67-87.

203 Ibid., I, p. 85 (translated).

translation from the original French edition; "Aphorismen ueber Organonomie" (1803),[204] and "Exposition der Physiologie" (1805).[205] This latter work, according to Görres' own words, and same may be said of all his works of this time, was to be but a general sketch of the respective topic, to be carried out further by others in time to come.

Meanwhile, Christian von Aretin, the director and chief librarian of the Bavarian Academy of Sciences, had applied to Görres for contributions to his "Aurora", with the result that, beginning with June 13, 1804, there appeared in that publication, from the pen of Görres, aphorisms on poetry, philosophy, and politics, under the title "Corruscationen", Wetterleuchten, (sheetlightening), and, in 1805, a larger work, "Glauben und Wissen" all of which, according to Aretin,[206] were highly appreciated by the public.

In examining the foregoing works, we find that as a critic of the fine arts, Görres follows in the footsteps of Winckelmann; as to aesthetics he is in sympathy with Schiller and Wilhelm von Humboldt, but is more profound than either of these; as philosopher of nature, he is under the influence of Fichte and Baader,[207] and especially under that of Schelling, without, however, following them into the extremes of pantheism.[208] Schelling's ideas he fills in with Herder's "Ideen zur Geschichte der Menschheit". Jean Paul[209] seems to be his ideal poet, and Herder, Hölderlein and Kleist (in part), Lessing and the two Schlegels, his favorite authors.

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204 Ibid., pp. 89-96.

205 Ibid., pp. 153-172. (This work is also called "Organologie," which led to the erroneous opinion that Görres had also written "Aphorisms on Organology."—See Galland, op. cit., p. 87, note 2).

206 Cf. "Gesammelte Briefe," op. cit., Vol. II, p. 8 f. (Letter of Aretin to Görres, June 20, 1804). Cf. ibid., Vol. II, p. 4. (Letter of Winckelmann to Görres, June, 1803).

207 Read Nohl, J., "Franz von Baader, der Philosoph der Romantik," Euphorion, Vol. XIX, pp. 612-633. (Görres calls Baader "ein elektrisches Blitzgenie,"—ibid., p. 619).

208 Cf. "Gesammelte Briefe," II, p. 21, Letter of Görres to Windischmann, June 16, 1805.

209 See Schellberg, op. cit., I, pp. 402-414 (On "The Works of Jean Paul," by Görres).

In 1802, Görres hal also written "Das Christkindchen", or "Kindermythen", a childlike and sympathetic narration relating a little girl's dream about a Christmas tree, to which the mother had given the initiative by the telling of a Christmas story. Some lines of the prologue will speak of the character of the composition. It begins:

"Umspült vom wilden Strom der Zeiten, liegt
Romantisch eine Zauberinsel da,
Ein lieblich süsser Duft hält sie umschwebt,
Und Engel steigen in den Duft herab,
Hernieder zu der Unschuld munterm Spiel
Und zu der Jugend harmlos frohen Thun.

* * * * * *

Nur solch ein zart und liebevoll Gemüth,
Das gern, ein Kind selbst, unter Kindern weilt
Mag sich vertraulich ihrem Kreise nahn."[210]

Görres, at this period of his life, was no atheist, and, as we have said, no pantheist, but neither was he, as yet, an adherent of the Revealed Religion, the faith which he had lost in the days of his youth. His religious ideas were still vague and indefinite. Faith (Phantasie), with him, has its home chiefly in the South, and Knowledge (Erkenntniss) in the North. The God of the South is a poetical God, the God of the North, a God of ideas. He holds, however, since religion is a necessity of the heart and knowledge a necessity of the mind, they, religion and science, are as inseparable as are heart and head. The State cannot exist without religion:—there must be religion, and that a positive religion; but it is not yet clear to him what that religion should be. Christianity seems to him, from a speculative, aesthetic standpoint, the most perfect religion, but its dogmas are subject, as yet, to his own wilful interpretation. A decisive improvement in his religious ideas is noticeable in his

210 Cf. Schellberg, op. cit., I, p. 95 ff.; also Galland, op. cit., p. 295 ff.

work "Glauben und Wissen". Here he refers all later religious viewpoints back to the First Principle (das Erste, Ursprüngliche), whence all things have proceeded; points out most intelligently the characteristics of Heathenism and Christianity, and defends the Christian idea of a God, who is a Personal Transcendental Being, against the materialistic-pantheistic ideas of Paganism. The sphere of *mysticism* (divine) is the sphere of grace; the sphere of *art* and *science*, the sphere of genius. Reason can comprehend the Divine only as the "Absolute", whereas *faith*, *religion*, and *myth*, comprehend and enjoy the Divine as "Personality".[211]

Noteworthy, also, in these works is the attitude which Görres begins to take against the philosophers and advocates of the Enlightenment. Even, already, in his "Arphorismen über die Kunst", he upbraids them for the spiritless and cold haughtiness with which they ignore even the grandest products of genius, while lavishly bestowing their praises on the stunted (verbutteten) products of a meager and conceited fancy; rebukes them for their blindness towards all that is not tangible, not material. His keen eye sees the lose construction of the doctrines that constitute "Modernism":—the latter's confusedness, its cutting contrasts, its strange dislocations, its destructive effect on all that is noble and good. "The serenity of former generations", he says, "has fled;—an impulsive effusion of force, a fierce confrontment of opposite tendencies, characterizes the age; force after force usurps the throne, to succumb in turn before the reaction of all the other forces;—all is chaos, convulsion, uproar."[212]

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211 Of interest in regard to the works under question is a criticism directed against Uhlmann, which is found in "Historisches Jahrbuch", 1914, 35. Band, 3. Heft. Cf. also Galland, op. cit., p. 299 ff.

212 Cf. Schellberg, op. cit., I, p. 68 ff.; also "Antic und Modern," ibid., I, p. 98 ff.; "Die Herabkunft der Ideen und das Zeitalter," ibid., I, p. 116 ff.; Galland, op. cit., p. 300 ff. In reference to Görres' works in general, of the period concerned, see "Historisch-politische Blaetter," Vol. 32, p. 672 ff., and Schultz, "Franz Joseph Görres als Herausgeber, Litterarhistoriker, und Kritiker im Zusammenhang mit der juengeren Romantik," Berlin, 1902 pp. 1-46.

Meanwhile, matters had not improved in the Rhinelands, but had reached such a stage that Görres thought he could no longer endure it so near to the "French Inferno",[213] and he resolved to emigrate. He applied first at Munich for a professorship[214] and then at Heidelberg, and Heidelberg was indeed glad to receive a man into her faculty whom Thibaut called "einen ausgezeigneten Gelehrten".[215]

In the autumn of 1806, Görres took up his abode in Heidelberg and for the next two years lectured at the University on philosophy, physiology, anthropology, on physics, aesthetics, poetry, and on old German literature.

We shall, however, not touch here on Görres' activity in Heidelberg, since we have done so already in Chapter VI, but will follow him instead to Coblenz, where, after his return from Heidelberg, he reassumed the professorship, which had been left open for him during his absence.

But, although Görres' academic life at Heidelberg had become a matter of the past it was, happily, not so in regard to the intellectual activity which he had unfolded here under the auspices of the Romantic Movement. He continued to give attention to folk-songs,[216] as well as to Minne-and Master-songs. In these songs he saw hidden, and rightly so, the real motives which

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213 Cf. "Gesammelte Briefe," Vol. II, p. 12 f. (Letter to Aretin, Feb. 3, 1805).

214 Cf. Ibid., p. 18 f. (Letter to Aretin, May 4, 1805); cf. also, ibid., p. 17 (Letter of Aretin to Görres, April 15, 1805).

215 Cf. Galland, op. cit., p. 97 f.

216 Rueckert characterizes the folk-song thus beautifully:

"Das Schoenste ward gedichtet
Von keines Dichters Mund;
Kein Denkmal ist errichtet
Kein Marmor thut es kund.
Es hat sich selbst geboren,
Wie eine Blume spriesst
Und wie aus Felsenthoren
Ein Brunnquell sich ergiesst."

(From Keller, J .,"Bilder aus der deutschen Literatur," New York, 1905, p. 50).

inspire people in their dealings with the various problems of life. He thus became more and more enlightened as to the true nature and character of the life of the people in the Middle Ages, which age the German people, together with the rest of the world, had become accustomed to despise as a period of mental darkness and barbarism. And beautiful, indeed, is the perspective which one obtains of the Christian German Middle Age, as it stands forth in its glorious ballad poetry in testimony of its love for the chivalrous and ideal. Görres realized more than any other of the Romanticists that a truly enlightened advancement must be guided by the motto, "Vetera novis augere et perficere"—"to render the old new and to perfect it."[217]

Another field of intellectual labor, besides the foregoing, had attracted the attention of Görres during his sojourn in Heidelberg. Breathlessly he had listened, with Creuzer, to Friedrich Schlegel's celebrated work, "Sprache und Weisheit der Inder" (1808). A new world of thought expanded before the ardent mind of Görres, as the curtain of time was swept away, and he beheld the domain of history in the primeval times of the East. Here, in the primitive relations, he hoped to find the fountain-head of all traditions, of all philosophy, of all religion, of all sagas.[218] With but limited material at his disposal and with almost no assistance, he set to work to unravel for us the mental and physical intricacies of the far distant and hidden past, to the effect, that the year

217 Cf. Turner, op. cit., p. 660.

218 The existence of a primeval revelation and the diffusion and perpetuity of its doctrines among all the nations of the world, has been very ably proved by Abbé de la Mennais in his "Essai sur L' Indifférence en Matière de Religion," Paris, 1823, 4 vols. Consult also Stolberg, Fr., "Geschichte der Religion Jesu Christi," 1806-1811.

1810 saw the publication of his "Mythengeschichte der asiatischen Welt", in two volumes.[219]

The object of the "Mythengeschichte," according to the author himself, was to interpret the first page of the great book of Nature, which God Himself has written with His own Finger on tablets of stone as a glorious panegyric of His omnipotence, expressed in most vivid symbols. He starts out with the belief that there is ONENESS in the fundamental mythical thoughts of all peoples. Far off in the misty haze of remote antiquity, Görres' eye beholds the Godhead stepping forth from His eternal mysteries to reveal Himself, first of all in matter and in the visible universe. Then the first great dawn of day steals away from the darkness and, like the dusk of evening, weaves its shadows deep and solemn. Silence of death broods over all, which the breath of creative power alone can remove. But lo! lovingly the Eye of Fire (das Feuerauge) looks down from heaven;—the earth becomes intoxicated, as it were, from the effect of the golden light which it absorbed from that intensive "Cast of Eye", yielding unto it the vital germ, and, in response, sends forth, in anthems of Thanksgiving, living forms of every kind. Lastly man appears, and to him are given the hieroglyphs of the first revelations in characters too clear and luminous to remain unperceived.

In the next stage of her existence, Nature opens her

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219 The work was greeted with enthusiasm by the literary world. Not that it is free of errors;—from a scientific as well as from a dogmatic standpoint, these are many, for, first of all, Görres never means to do really thorough research work,—he leaves that to others: he delights in playing the part of an initiator, an inspirer; and secondly, we still have the Christian in the making, not in the completion,—a seeker after truth, not the possessor of it; yet no one will deny that it is a great work. Creuzer, to whom it is dictated, says:—"recht durchgenossen (hinterlaesst das Werk).... eine Sehnsucht nach der alten Mitte und nach der ersten Quelle alles Guten und Goettlichen, das sich je unter den Menschenkindern offenbart hat."—("Gesammelte Briefe," Vol. II, p. 155, Letter of Creuzer, Nov. 10, 1810). Professor Sepp says, that its merit consists in having proclaimed the existence of an original relationship between the history of ideas and that of the dispersion of mankind, which reflection gave the impetus for a new history of religion, whose future development will devolve upon General Ethnography, and the History of Art and Aesthetics (Bildungsgeschichte).—Galland, op. cit., p. 138.

gates, and forth steps, from her inner sanctuary, a procession of priests and prophets, accompanied by poets, heroes, and wise men. They were to receive testimony and give testimony of the mysterious words that God has spoken to His creatures, and to explain what was still obscure.

The first type of religion was pure and simple, without temples. The concrete world of gods came later and produced the heathen polytheism. The latter found its concentration in the cult of *Jehovah*, which reached its highest development in the Christian doctrine of the *Holy Trinity*. In the descent there is the Anti-Christian Mohammedanism, followed by the Modern Paganism of Poetry and Art, which latter was to find its culmination in the Idealistic Pantheism of his (Görres') own day.

The myths correspond, in elevation and kind, to the climate in which they are born. The tall palms, the soft, dark-green spruce, the rainbow-colored flowers, the snow-capped Alps, the long polar night, give expression to the thought, to the desires of the heart,—each in its own peculiar language. But, at the bottom of all, there is one central idea, which rules and contains all. "One Godhead only," he says, "is active in the universe; also only one religion rules within, one service and one viewpoint of the world at the root of all, one Law and one Bible everywhere, but a living book it is, increasing like the generations, and like the species ever young".[220]

These are some of the thoughts which Görres has laid down in his "History of Mythology". After its publication he found himself more than ever persecuted by Voss and his clique, as well as by the Weimarians. But these

220 "Eine Gottheit nur wirkt im ganzen Weltall, eine Religion auch nur herrscht in ihm, ein Dienst und eine Weltanschauung in der Wurzel, ein Gestz und eine Bibel geht durch alle, aber ein lebendiges Buch wachsend wie die Geschlechter und wie die Gattung ewig jung." Schellberg, op. cit., I, p. LXVII. See also, ibid., I, pp. 387-400 (Ausklang der Mythengeschichte); Galland, op. cit., pp. 137 f. and p. 303; "Gesammelte Briefe," II, pp. 144-155. (Letter of Creuzer, Nov. 10, 1810,—criticisms on the work).

forces could not disturb the balance of his noble soul,[221] nor could they harm him. The worthiest representatives in the scientific world stood in communication with him and sought his counsel, and periodicals of every type were awaiting articles from his pen. Von Aretin sought such for his "Aurora", Gehlen for his "Neue Allgemeine Journal der Chemie", Dr. Julius and F. R. Perthes for "Das Vaterländische Museum", Wilken and Zimmer for the "Musen", F. Schlegel for "Das Deutsche Museum," etc.

Besides the above named personages, Görres counted Böhmer, Winckelmann, Dalberg, Von Lassberg, and Windischmann among his friends. Of great importance, from a literary standpoint, is the correspondence that he kept up in connection with his scientific pursuits. In behalf of the natural sciences he exchanged ideas with Winckelmann, Aretin, Molitor, and Gehlen; in behalf of Oriental poetry and legends with von Dalberg, Windischmann, F. Schlegel, and especially with Creuzer. This was followed by a correspondence with Jean Paul, Arnim, Brentano, Perthes, and the Brothers Grimm. Galland says of these letters that they afford the best and most interesting account of the early history of the Germanistic Movement.[222] They also contain a large amount of biographical material.

Meanwhile, Görres had been studying the Persian language, which he not only mastered in the short space of two years, but had also read and studied the famous epic of Firdusi, the "Shah-Nameh."[223]

In 1810, he had also written his "Über den Fall Teutschlands und die Bedingungen seiner Wiederge-

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221 Cf. Schellberg, op. cit., I, p. 386—here Görres says: "Das ist meines Lebens schönster Stern von je gewesen, dass die Besseren sich vertrauend immer um mich her gesammelt, wie auch ich nur zu den Guten mich gehalten; die aber mich zu hassen die Mühe sich genommen, haben keine Kränkung mir bereitet, weil ich leicht ihr nichtiges, verworrenes Streben bis zum Grunde durchgesehen, das immer zuletzt sich selber aufgerieben."—(Vorrede zur Mythengeschichte).

222 Cf. Galland, op. cit., p. 143. See Schellberg, op. cit., II, pp. 75-210 and "Gesammelte Briefe," Vols. 2 and 3. Consult also Sepp, J. N., "Görres und seine Zeitgenossen," Nördlingen, 1867.

223 Cf. Sepp, Görres, op. cit., p. 111 f.

burt" and "Fall der Religion und ihre Wiedergeburt",[224] both of which titles speak for themselves as to the character of these works. They are of special interest, since they reveal a further improvement in the religious opinions of our friend.

The year 1813 was marked by his "Lohengrin" and his "Hunibald's Chronik":[225] In the introduction to the former he endeavors to prove the kinship of the German and the Gaelic legends, and holds that the poem affords a deep insight into the domestic and public life of the times in which the theme is laid, and that not only civism, but also the knightly element, has grown out of the national life.[226]

It is with utter amazement that we look up to the intellectual activity of Görres. Besides the foregoing endeavors, we find him accompany, with kind and intelligent interest, the first flights of the attempt made by the Brothers Grimm, to give German philology the character of an independent science. In 1812, he planned with Glöckle the "Bibliotheka Vaticana" of ancient German poetry.[227] He gave his faithful help to the Brothers

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224 "Politische Schriften," I, pp. 115-132, and 132-189.

225 See Schlegel, F., "Deutsches Museum, 1813," Vol. III, pp. 319-345, 503-516; Vol. IV, 321-349, 358-375 (Hunibald's Chronic).

226 Görres believed that the legend of the Holy Grail had its origin in the Orient and that it was introduced into the Western World by way of Byzantium (Constantinople), since he thought to have re-discovered the essentials of the "Hagia Sophia" in the inscription of the Temple of the "Holy Grail" in the Titurel, which latter he considered to be the center and crown of all ancient German poetry. Consult Rosenkranz, "Ueber den Titurel und Dante's Komödia," Halle und Leipzig, 1839; Borchling, "Der jüngere Titurel und sein Verhältnis zu Wolfram von Eschenbach," Göttingen, 1897. Borchling holds that the interpretation of names by Görres from the Arabic is untenable. See also Schultz, op. cit., p. 178. Schultz credits Görres with the fact that his Lohengrin has broken the ground of the view-point, first established by Grimm, that the idea of the Holy Grail has a national basis and that it is found as a "principle of desire" (Wunschding) among all nations. Cf. also Sepp, op. cit., p. 109 ff. To Görres certainly belongs the credit of having introduced into Germany, through his Lohengrin, the legend of the Holy Grail, which has since become the property of the educated classes through Simrock and San Marté in literature, through Wagner in music, and through Steinle and others in art.

227 Cf. Grauert, H., Deutschnationale Regungen in Süddeutschland während der Jahre 1812-1813," Kempen und München, 1913, p. 366.

Boisserée to save what was yet to be saved of ancient art out of the Vandalic ravage brought about by the hard utilitarianism of the Frenchified bureaucracy of the "Confederation of the Rhine", which salvage now forms those precious collections which render Munich and Cologne so famous. He lent his interest and assistance to the great Cornelius, who, with others, was making the first attempts towards the unshackling of art from the chains of mannerism and materialistic insipidity.[228]

While Görres was thus engaged, great changes had taken place in France and elsewhere. The unlimited despotism of Bonaparte, engendered by the *absolutism* and *godlessness* of the Revolution, was not the tyranny of mere brute force, as it reveals itself in the barbarian, but a despotism begotten by modern civilization, whose true character would be more correctly signified if its era be called *"Age of Enlightened Egotism"* instead of, as it is called, *"Age of Universal Enlightenment"*. Napoleon made the forces of the Revolution subserve his will and his insatiable ambition, and with them conquered the degenerate nations of Europe. For years *"the Mighty Hunter of Nations"*, as Görres calls Napoleon, had chained victory to his triumphal car and driven through the fields of Europe,—of Europe which had grown wild with the principles of Rationalism, Materialism, Atheism, and false Enlightenment. But when the nations recovered their senses, when they awakened from the torpor of mind and soul that had come to enthrall them, then it was for Napoleon to dig with his own hands the pit that was to receive him in his fall from the elevated station into which his pride and lust had carried him, after he had so ingloriously missed the rare opportunities that were his. History tells how on the snowfields of Russia his Grand Armée was destroyed by the elements, whilst the victories of Albuera and Salamanca and the Flames of Moscow were flashing across the continent the hope of deliverance.

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228 Cf. Sepp, "Görres," op. cit., p. 112 ff. Read "Gesammelte Briefe," II, pp. 433-440—(Letter of Cornelius to Görres, Rome, Nov. 3, 1814).

With the dawn of 1813, there came the twilight of a better day. In answer to the summons of the iron York, "Nunc aut nunquam", the nations arose, above all Germany,—Germany which (with the exception of Prussia) had been most enslaved and most dishonored, because she had betrayed and sold herself. From all parts of Germany recruits were hurrying to the front, with the one resolve to liberate their country from the oppression it had borne so long. On the battlefield of Leipzig, the power of the arrogant usurper was overthrown, and he was driven by the allied armies across the Rhine back to his capital, where on the walls of the Tuileries were written his "Mane", "Thecel", "Phares".

No one, perhaps, of the sons of "Germania" had watched the foregoing events with keener interest than Görres. More than ever he felt himself called to be the teacher of his nation, and like St. Paul of old, he was not satisfied to be such from his Cathedra alone. Seeing the time favorable for action, he once more returned from retirement to the publicist activity of his youth. And, like a prophet inspired by the "Higher Power", he gave in his Rhenish Mercury (Der Rheinische Merkur) expression of the wishes and demands of the people, while at the same time instructing them as to the things that had been or ought to be done.[229]

With the same force, as he had years before announced the saving truths of the Revolution, Görres carried on, in above journal, an unrelenting war of the pen against French dominion and despotism and in behalf of the new Germanism that was awakening everywhere.[230] He seemed to have caught from the heart of Christ some of the Savior's undying love of humanity, of justice, of liberty, of truth, of simplicity,—of all that is great and good in man and in a people. Outside power raged in vain against the rock-like and splendid principles that he

229 Consult "Politische Schriften," Der Rheinische Merkur," Vol. I, pp. 191-475; Vol. II, pp. 1-504; Vol. III, pp. 1-373. (The first number of this journal appeared on Sunday, January 23, 1814).

230 Cf. Sepp, Görres, op. cit., p. 71 f.; Menzel, op. cit., p. 31 f. and 80 f.; Bobeth, J., "Die Zeitschriften der Romantik," Leipzig 1911 (Preisschrift der Kunst-Stiftung), p 256 ff.

had built up from past experience, and which his vast learning, his profound understanding, and keen vision had helped him to assimilate, and correlate correctly, while his fearlessness of character gave him strength to express them. He had learned to know the difference between the spirit of God and the thorny hedge which a false, degenerate philosophy had built up. He, therefore, told his people, that it was not enough for them to crush the Napoleonic tyranny, but that it was also, and really above all, necessary to renovate their country by a new infusion of Christian and truly national principles. For, as Chadwick in our own days,[231] so saw Görres in Christ the channel through which alone can come to a people that which it needs most, namely, "righteousness":—Righteous thinking, righteous living, righteous acting heaven alone supplies. Unsparingly, with biting truth, therefore, he describes the sins which had led to the destruction of the old empire, placing on the tongue of Napoleon these words: "A people without a fatherland, a constitution without unity, princes without character or aims, a nobility without pride and energy, all this must be an easy booty for me."[232]

And the people listened, and the rulers trembled, as Görres poured forth his "flammantia verba" and "saeva indignatio" against all that was evil in them. Truth, Liberty, and Right, these all-embracing gifts, said Görres, God showered upon mankind in sending the Redeemer, and it is the duty of man to acquire them, and when obtained, to keep them intact. These constitute the true happiness of a people: outside of these is tyranny, oppression, and despotism.

Meanwhile, the Allies had entered Paris and the diplomats were engaged in making a treaty of peace and lay-

231 Cf. Chadwick, W. E., "Social Relationships in the Light of Christianity," New York, 1910, p. 201.

232 Sepp, Görres, op. cit., p. 80. Read entire "Napoleon's Proclamation to the People of Europe previous to his Departure for Elba," Schellberg, op. cit., I, pp. 533-562; "Politische Schriften," Vol. I, pp. 379-409. See also, Uhlmann, J. von, "Görres und die deutsche Einheits—und Verfassungsfrage bis zum Jahr 1824," Leipzig, 1912.

ing the foundation of the new order of things that needed to be established in Europe. Görres was on the alert. He knew full well that diplomatic art and wisdom had yet seldom produced a lasting good. A rumor went about that France was even to be rewarded with new concessions of land, while Germany, that had gone to so many sacrifices, was to remain cut up and parceled out. The first Peace of Paris was signed May 30, 1814, and when the terms were made public, Görres found the above rumors only too well verified.[233] He was indignant, but since it was too late to amend matters, he kept aloof from useless lamentations and contented himself with turning his attention to the regulations of interior affairs.

Görres, first of all, demanded of the German people that they should complete the Cathedral of Cologne as a memorial of the restitution of the fatherland.[234] In Christian art, Görres saw a symbol of the heavenly, of the mysterious,—the sublime. The majestic cathedral was, therefore, once more to become the channel of the enthusiasm of Christendom and the purest expression of religious feeling,—of that deep and all-pervading sentiment of the human soul which struggles with a holy and yearning enthusiasm to mount up to the throne of the Most High. And what may be said of every Gothic cathedral, is especially true of the one under question, namely, that no other structure is so admirably calculated to produce sensations of blended awe and tranquility, by its impressive atmosphere of the solemn and entrancing beauty of the All-Holy. In the neglected, unfinished cathedral, Görres saw a picture of Germany in her confusion of speech and thought, and he now asked his people to let it become, in its completion, a symbol of the new and better realm, which they were about to establish.[235]

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233 Consult "Politische Schriften," I, pp. 448-454—"Der Frieden von Paris."

234 See ibid., II, pp. 194-197—"Der Dom in Koeln."

235 Cf. Politische Schriften," II, pp. 194-197.

Görres also raised his voice again, and again, in defence of the Catholic Church. When he began to study more closely the dogmas and the history of Christianity, as he did under the auspices of the Romantic movement, he learned to appreciate her more and more, and grew less and less confident in the philosophy, which had captivated him in his youth. It was *truth* that he sought, and the force and clearness of his penetrating genius helped him also to find it,[236] if not at once, then gradually.

On September 20, 1814, the Congress of Vienna was opened. Görres demanded that a government be founded based on the love of Divine Justice and the principles of self-devotion, i. e., on the Christian theory of law and government, whereby the rights of princes and of the nobility should be connected, in an enduring relationship, with the liberties of the people.[237]

Towards the end of February, 1815, the work of the Congress seemed to be accomplished, and all eyes were turned towards Vienna to learn the results of the negotiations, when suddenly the news reached the assembled potentates that Napoleon had escaped from Elba and was marching on to Paris. Görres raised his voice anew in defence against the usurper in a series of articles.[238] Napoleon was forced a second time to abdicate; a second Peace of Paris was signed, November 20, 1815; the Congress of Vienna, which has been called "The triumph of Talleyrand's diplomacy",[239] was continued and closed, with England and Russia as dictators,—without that the hopes of Görres, and thus those of the German people, were fulfilled; hardly was the restitution of the robbed treasures of art and science insisted on. Görres gave vent to his feelings of utter disappointment, and warningly he said: "The first Peace of

236 Cf. ibid., I, p. IX f. See ibid., articles: Die eingedrungenen Bishoefe, I, pp. 266-282; Staats und Kirchengut, ibid., I, pp. 416-425; Ueber Pius VII, ibid., II, pp. 56-60.

237 Cf. "Politische Schriften," II, pp. 93-111—"Die kuenftige teutsche Verfassung," and, ibid., II, pp. 143-147—"Der teutsche Reichstag."

238 Cf. ibid., II, pp. 460-505, and III, pp. 1-154.

239 Reich, op. cit., p. 81.

Paris bore, as son, a new war; the latter has brought forth as grandson a new peace, while the great-grandson is visibly stretching forth his tiny snake-head into the light of day."[240]

At the same time Görres kept on attacking with vigor the egotism and meanness of selfish politics wherever they existed. On this account, of course, he could not avoid coming into collision with both statesmen and governments. Already, in the first semester of its existence, the Mercury had been prohibited by Bavaria, and Wuertemberg and Baden followed soon, while it enjoyed the royal favor of Prussia. But when Görres also attacked the latter in his article: "Die Reaction in Preussen",[241] the Mercury of the Rhine had spoken its doom;—it was suppressed by a cabinet order of Berlin, dated January 2, 1816, upon a request of Russia.[242] "High thinking and right loving", says a writer, "may make us enemies of those around us, but they make us Godlike nevertheless." And so it was with Görres:—he loved his people with the truest love, and entertained for them but the highest ambition,—and Godlike, indeed, he stands forth in the pages of his Mercury.[243]

Soon after the suppression of this journal, Görres also lost his position as director of public instruction, to which office he had been appointed by Justus Gruner, governor of the middle provinces of the Rhine, April 23, 1914.[244]

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240 Cf. "Politische Schriften," III, p. 247, Article: "Die zweite Octoberfeier," pp. 246-251.

241 Ibid., III, pp. 319-349 (The last number of the Mercury appeared on January 10, 1816).

242 Cf. Galland, op. cit., p. 195.

243 For comments regarding the suppression of the Mercury see Sainte-Foi, La Mystique Par Görres (translation from the original; not a wholly complete translation, however), Paris, 1854, Vol. I, p. 3 (Preface of translator); Schellberg, op. cit., I, p. LXXVIII ff., and p. LXXX (Einleitung); Galland, op. cit., p. 193 ff. See also Tschirch, O., "Joseph Görres, der Rheinische Merkur und der Preussische Staat, Preussische Jahrbuecher," Vol. 157, (1914), pp. 225-248. (Görres is looked upon as the founder of the modern newspaper,—Schellberg, Görres, op. cit., p. 19).

244 Read Schagen, A., "Joseph Görres und dre Anfaenge der Preussischen Volksschule am Rhein, 1814-1816,—Studien zur Rheinischen Geschichte," 7, Heft.

For a third time Görres betook himself to the quiet of his study. After a vacation of nine weeks, which he spent at Heidelberg, he returned to Coblenz, where he founded a relief society during the famine that had ensued, and thus made himself, also on that side, the benefactor of the Rhinelands.[245]

In 1817 Görres published his collection of "Old Folk— and Master-Songs."[246] In its introduction he says, "Since a great catastrophe has awakened the time from its egotism and self-adoration, it turns, for the purpose of establishing a better future, more and more towards the past where it hopes to recover its *Better Self*. But nowhere is this better self more adequately expressed than in lyric poetry, which, so to say, holds contained within itself the pulsation and breath of the inner life of a people; and as a lightbearer (Lichttraeger) radiates in the night the light which is absorbed during the day, so does this poetry absorb and transmit the characteristics of every age." Wherever the character of the German tribes, wherever the free, heroic energy of the Germanic nature, became blended with Christian principles, there came forth from that union those great and noble characters of chivalry, that beautiful poetry of life, of noble aims and endeavors, which we so much admire in true chivalry, and which to restore once more amongst his people had become the desire and life-aim of Görres.

What Görres aimed to bring out, through the above publication, was the essential dignity of common things, the glorification of the common life, and the importance of the individual. The folk-songs, on their side, have for their prime characteristics naive, spontaneous, simple beauty. They are products not of calcula-

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245 Cf. Galland, op. cit., pp, 197-207; Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie," Leipzig, 1871, Vol. 9, p. 382; "Gesammelte Briefe," II, pp. 529-531, 533-535, 536-537; 540, 541; Schellberg, op. cit., II, p. 766—Letter of Savigny to Görres, Berlin, June 21, 1817.

246 Consult Görres, J., "Alte Volks-und Meisterlieder aus den Handschriften der Heidelberger Bibliothek," Frankfurt a/M., 1817.

tion or scientific intelligence, but of the original, natural, creative power of men, as Rueckert expresses it so beautifully in the stanza, previously quoted;—the sense of beauty, of the ideal, being the determining factor.

The importance of the individual, on the other hand, was at no time more advantageously worked out to practical results, than through the Medieval guild-life, as pictured in the Meister-songs. All the privileges were not for one class and all the labor for the other. Master and man, capitalist and laborer, knelt side by side at the altar to receive the Master of both, true to the spirit of Christ who said in the persons of His Apostles to every one of mankind, "I will no longer call you servants, but friends."[247] Class distinction existed, indeed, but only for the happiness and protection and mutual helpfulness of all concerned.

Like a mighty stream, then, these songs were to flood once more, with nobler and better ideas from a nobler and a better age, the land that had become dry and sterile.[248]

During his last sojourn in Heidelberg, Görres had found there, in the library, some very remarkable fragments of the Nibelungen. These also were published.[249]

A further production of the activity of Görres about this time was the "Adresse der Stadt und Landschaft Coblenz," October 18, 1817, und "ihre Übergabe beim Fürsten Hardenberg", January 24, 1818,[250]—a demand for redress of grievances. By it, however, he gave great offence to the government, and still more so by his invective "Kotzebue und was ihn gemordet."[251] In March 1819, Karl Sand, a Jena student of theology assassinated in Mannheim, the German author and dramatist Kotzebue, because of his publishing derisive attacks upon the

247 St. John, 15:15.
248 Cf. Schellberg, op. cit., I, pp. 415-420 (Einleitung to the above work). Cf. also Galland, op. cit., p. 209 f.
249 See Grimm, "Altdeutsche Waelder," Vol. III, pp. 241-249; "Bruchstuecke aus zwei verlorenen Handschriften der Nibelungen," Frankfurt, 1817.
250 "Politische Schriften," Vol. IV, pp. 1-51.
251 Ibid., IV, pp. 51-65.

"Liberals" (Liberalen) and of being suspected as a Russian spy for the purpose of furthering principles of absolute government.[252]

Görres had hoped that the Kotzebue affair would turn the eyes of the governments in the right direction. Yet, this was not the case, as history tells in connection with the "Carlsbad Resolutions."[253] It was then that Görres wrote, within four weeks, his "Teutschland und die Revolution."[254] With bold frankness, he unfolds the corruption and godlessness of the age; speaks of the errors that had been committed by, and since, the Congress of Vienna; of the shock that was given to public confidence when one solemn promise after another was broken or left unfulfilled on part of the various governments; demands the discarding of that cabinet-despotism that had been transplanted into Germany from abroad (from Italy through France); makes suggestions as to how order can be restored and the demands of the people be satisfied; advocates again, as he had done in the "Mercury," the principle which ruled Church and State during the best period of the Middle Ages, whereby the two institutions were in friendly relations with each other, each independent in its own sphere, but protecting and helping one another in promoting the honor and glory of God and the temporal and eternal welfare of the people; and since he held, and that with many, and the best men of the time, that this principle could only be placed on a solid foundation by a re-establishment of the old Empire, he urged this to be done; however, based on modern (progressive) ideas. He ends the work in the pithy verse from Virgil: "Discite justitiam moniti, et non temnere divos" (Aen. VI, 620).

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252 Görres is accused of having justified the act of Sand. In the above article, however, he condemns the deed (p. 53 f.) All he says in favor of the assasinator is that the young man, after he had committed the deed, handed himself over to the court of justice; but whether this expiates the crime or not, is for God to judge, and not for man (p. 59 f.)

253 Cf. Gebhardt, op. cit., II, p. 504 ff.; also Galland, op. cit., pp. 227-231.

254 "Politische Schriften," IV, pp. 65-245.

The foregoing work incurred for Görres the hatred of the governments more than ever, and he escaped imprisonment at Spandau, only, because of the timely warning of a friend, by flight to Frankfurt A/M, where he arrived on October 1, 1819. From there he made his way to Strassburg, leaving Frankfurt on October 7th, and reaching his destination on October 10th, of the same year.[255]

Here in exile, Görres took a retrospect,—deeper and calmer and more comprehensive than ever before. In scanning the years of his life gone by, he saw, as in a vision, how he had been carried away in his youth by the spirit of the times, and then, as a Stormer and Stresser, by that of the French Revolution; he saw destroyed, almost completely, the Faith that, in its simplicity, had rendered the days of his childhood so golden; he saw his youthful patriotic hopes and ideals one after another baffled, his faith in the saving virtue of Democracy shipwrecked;—had come to realize, with Plato, that a republican form of government is not *necessarily* the best form, but that one which most adequately serves the character of the respective peoples; he next saw himself a romanticist, called to assist in restoring to his country freedom, and to his people the glorious inheritance of the past from which the Reformation had separated one-half of Germany and Rationalism the other half;—[256] he saw the liberation of his native land from foreign dominion; saw the flames of patriotism and of noble ideals burn once more brightly in the hearts of the Germans;—he saw the formation of the Holy Alliance, proclaiming Christianity as the groundwork of politics and popular rights; but this religious enthusiasm of 1813 and 1814,

255 Friends as well as enemies have criticised the procedure of Görres against the governments in this work. Perthes holds that there would have been no need for him to live in exile, had he not shown himself so one-sided, especially against Prussia, and so little informed on matters concerned.—See Galland, op. cit., pp. 254 and 257 ff.; Schellberg, op. cit., p. XCIII ff.; Steig, R., "Achim von Arnim und Jacob und Wilhelm Grimm," Stuttgart und Berlin, 1904, pp. 428 and 453; also Tschirch, op. cit., p. 243.

256 Cf. Schellberg, I, op. cit., p. 275 ff. (Religion in der Geschichte).

not resting on a solid basis of Faith, being rather a vague feeling than a conviction, soon cooled off, and despite the Christian principles of the Holy Alliance, Religion and Church remained in the oppressed and debased conditions in which Gallicanism, Josephinism, Rationalism, and Napoleonism had placed them.

Next Görres saw himself expecting the re-establishment of the Empire on sound, liberal, and benign principles, and with it the awakening of a *"New and Better Age"*, together with all that which makes a people a happy and a great nation. Instead of this came the Congress of Vienna and Metternich's standpoint for a Germanic Confederation and a staunch endeavor to prevent the spread of the constitutional system in Europe. In vain had Görres given vent to his disappointments in his Mercury; in vain had he pleaded, warned, threatened; in vain had he shown the statesmen, especially Metternich, their "Nemesis" on the walls of the time in his eloquent pamphlet "Teutschland und die Revolution". He was made to flee and live in exile. "Aber," says he, "sie sollen einmal erfahren was ein Mann vermag, der auf dem Rechte und der Wahrheit steht und sich nicht erschrecken lässt."[257] It was difficult for Görres to see that he should have failed. He had but taken liberty of expressing that which he had felt to be the truth; and truth without the freedom of expressing it, was to him as a buried treasure, a spring shut up, a fountain closed.[258]

Görres did not remain idle in Strassburg. Besides completing and publishing a translation of Firdusi's "Shah Nameh", [259] he made a study of a collection of old Spanish Chronicles, for which the Strassburg library offered him ample opportunity. To be able to do so, he

257 Galland, op. cit., p. 224. Cf. Schellberg, Görres, op. cit., p. 29 ff. Read Grauert, H., "Görres in Strassburg, Dritte Vereinsschrift der Görresgesellschaft für 1910."

258 Cf. Görres, "Germany and the Revolution," London, 1820, p. 9 (translated by Black).

259 Görres, J., "Das Heldenbuch von Iran aus dem Shah-Nameh des Firdusi," Berlin, 1829, 2 vols. Cf. Schultz, Joseph Görres, op. cit., p. 191; also Galland, op. cit., p. 251 ff.

learned Spanish, and also Icelandic, in order to render himself efficient for more intensified researches in the Northern Myths and Sagas.[260]

Meanwhile, that which Görres had foreseen, and warned against, in his "Germany and the Revolution", had become a matter of fact. His enemies, with all their hate, and the princes with all their power, could not prevent the unfettered revolutionary spirit to make its round from country to country. Beginning in Spain, in 1820, it made thence its way into Portugal, then on to Spanish America; returning, it entered Sicily; then Sardinia. "The whole world", said Metternich, "is crazy in its foolish striving after constitutions,"—and he rejected everything which threatened to aid the spirit of political innovations.

Görres could not behold tacitly events of such important consequences. Leaving Strassburg in June, 1820, he entered Switzerland, partly, as it seems, in the hope of finding there an opportunity of becoming reconciled with Berlin, after his wife and friends had in vain made attempts in that direction,[261] and partly to invigorate his physical constitution for further work and endeavors.[262]

From those mountain heights crowned with unmeasured miles of snow, girded with glaciers as with a coat of mail, and towering up among the clouds as though determined to storm the very heavens, Görres studied, and looked down upon the past and the present of Europe, and viewed as in a crystal mirror, with the intensified eye of a prophetic seer, the history of its future. At Aarau, in the spring of 1821, he wrote out, in twenty-seven days, the fruits of these meditations, and published them under the title "Europa und die Revolution".[263]

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260 Cf. "Gesammelte Briefe," I, pp. 137, 237 f.; also Galland, op. cit., p. 254.

261 Cf. Schellberg, op. cit., p. XCVII f., and Galland, op. cit., p. 259 ff.

262 See Ibid., p. 268. The letters of Görres describing his travels through Switzerland, belong to the best accounts on travels found in German literature.—"Gesammelte Briefe," Vol. I, pp. 154-229 (Letters of Görres from Switzerland).

263 "Politische Schriften," IV, pp. 245-483.

The work is divided into four parts. In the first part, which is to serve as an orientation, the author evolves two viewpoints of the world's history. The first presents Protestantism and modern Rationalism in intimate compact with the *spirit of the earth* (Erdgeist); the second is a reflection on the conflict between the Spiritual and the Natural: between Faith and Science, Catholicism and Protestantism, Dogmatism and Scepticism, Super-naturalism and Rationalism,—and sees therein the inner root of the great struggle which then, as ever since the day of the first sin, divided the world into two opposing factions.

In the second part of the book a résumé is taken of the centuries that immediately preceded Görres' own time, as containing the germs of the catastrophes that then took place, and which he considers but natural consequences of the combat between Church and State, which had also proved the destruction of the Middle Ages.

This brings Görres to the events of his own day, and so, in the third part, he shows how all the nations of Europe, one after another, were being visited by the paroxysm of that intermittent fever, the revolution:—now trembling in fear of despotism, now convulsed with the fever of revolutionary passions.

In the fourth part, finally, even worse calamities are foretold which the nations of Europe will have to undergo before the latter will regain its equilibrium, its normal state. He consoles the reader, however, by saying, "Repeated flood-tides will be followed by repeated ebb-tides":—no matter how tempestuously the terrestial elements may move, they will but serve to carry out the will of Him Who commands in history, and will verify what the Royal Psalmist sang: "Dominus confregit reges; judicabit in nationibus implebit ruinas, conquassabit capita in terra multorum."[264]

The Catholic Church is acknowledged in this work as the Church of the living God. Görres had come to realize that Christianity, which had brought redemption to

264 Psalm 106, 5-6.

the individual and true freedom to the children of God, is also the only source of a people's redemption. The hopes and wishes of many, even in some Catholic circles, had been for a national Church, in which Catholics, Lutherans, and all other denominations, were to be united to form "One State Church."[265] Görres himself had favored the idea, but had meanwhile come to see that the chief cause of the decay of religion was in the dependence and subjection of the Church to the State, as it had been brought about in the eighteenth century. He had come to be convinced that as political and social life has stability and force only in the State, so Christian life is possible only in the Church, as founded by Christ; and as a sound social system depends on the autonomy and freedom of the State, so religious life rests with the liberty of the Church. And, indeed, if it is true, what Goethe says, that

> "Wer in die Zeiten schaut und strebt,
> Nur der ist werth, zu sprechen und zu dichten",

then Görres had a right to speak as, perhaps, no other; for few have seen deeper down the abyss of time, and delved more assiduously among the pages of its history. A heavy battle, then, was to be fought, not with the material sword, but with weapons of Faith and Talent, in order to free the Church from the shackles of oppressive State control. Its standard bearer was to be Görres himself. The seed of religion, that had been planted in his heart in childhood, and that which he had meanwhile gathered and planted himself by his love for truth and noble endeavor, had grown and multiplied, especially in these his days of adversity and exile, and was now ready to bear its fruit. It came about thus:—

In the year 1821 two young professors in the episcopal seminary of Mainz (Mayence), Dr. Raess and Dr. Weiss, assisted by Liebermann and others, and urged by an earnest faith, started "The Catholic" (Der Katholik),

265 This idea found expression in Novalis' "Die Christenheit und Europa."

a magazine intended to defend the then almost defenceless Church against external attacks, as well as against internal dangers, brought about by the introduction of false ideas into the Catholic mind. But a narrow-minded censure drove the journal from Mainz to Speier, and away from Bavaria into Strassburg. Here Liebermann and Raess won the friendship of Görres and, with it, his support for their periodical, to which he came to contribute regularly and zealously from 1824-1827.[266] A stream of warm enthusiasm and ardent love for the Church of Christ and her dogmas and institutions flows through these contributions. For, as Holmes says, "it is faith in something and enthusiasm for something that makes a life worth looking at." Görres had through his studies and investigations acquired a full confidence in the Church and her divine mission here on earth, and he resolved to contribute his mite towards assisting her in carrying on that mission.

Again the people listened as Görres poured forth his words of Truth, of Love, and of Justice when, in his masterly Glossen, Stromata, and Quodlibets,[267] he lashed with his invincible humor and sarcasm, not only the evils of the time and the authors of the tales told about the formulas of excommunication in the Church, but exploded also the "Monita Secreta" of the Jesuits, and rebuked the contemptible prejudices and falsehoods brought to bear against Catholicity.

In other articles, such as "St. Francis of Assisi, a Troubadour"; the preface of Diepenbrock's edition of the works of "Henry Suso"; a study on "Swedenborg and his Visions"; "Persecution of the Church in Holland";[268] and the "Conflict between the Freedom of the Church and the Power of the State in Catholic Switzerland, as

266 Read, Galland, op. cit., pp. 331-365. It was about this time too (1824) that Görres returned to the fold of the Church, during a mission held in Strassburg by the priests of the "Missionaires de France," founded by Msgr. de Forbin-Janson.—See "Cath. Encyclopedia," Vol. VI, p. 133, Article: Forbin-Janson.

267 "Politische Schriften," Vol. V, 177 ff.; 266 ff.; and 361 ff., (partly reprinted). Cf. also Galland, op. cit., p. 340 ff.

268 "Politische Schriften," Vol. V, pp. 300-328.

exposed by the Udligenschwyler Affair",[269] he raised the cry of freedom for the Church, showed her salutary influence on the hearts of the people, portrayed in striking colors the truth and moral rectitude of Catholic principles, and taught Catholics to respect themselves, to trust in their cause, to ignore the hollow, empty phrases of the "Liberals", and to fight their opponents with that security which Truth alone can give.

Other important articles of this time from the pen of Görres are: "J. V. Voss and his obsequies in Heidelberg",[270] in which he gives a masterly account of Voss and the Vulgar Rationalism, of which Voss was a most radical representative; "The Mission of Strassburg", which event had become the last stone in the history of his return to the Church; and a recension of Kerz's continuation of Stolberg's "History of Religion."[271]

Before we continue to follow Görres in his career, it will be necessary to retrace our steps by a few years and bring up some items that are of interest, but have not thus far been treated.

As previously mentioned, Görres had mainly gone to Switzerland with the hope of finding there an opportunity to become reconciled with the Prussian government. A successful demand of a return of the papers and manuscripts that had been confiscated after his flight, may have given him encouragement towards this end.[272] From Basel, in June, 1820, he had written to this effect to the Prime Minister von Hardenberg, but, seemingly, had not even received an answer.[273] In September of the same year (1820), Görres had returned to Strassburg, where he became re-united with his family, who had

269 "Politische Schriften," Vol. V, pp. 328-361 (partly reprinted). Cf. also Brandes, G., "Main Currents in Nineteenth Century Literature," London, 1902, Vol. II, p. 313.

270 Görres, J. J., "H. Voss und seine Todesfeier in Heidelberg." Strassburg, 1826 (reprinted from the "Catholic"). Ricarda Huch, in her "Ausbreitung und Verfall der Romantik," Leipzig, 1902, p. 334, calls Voss "den Grossinquisitor des Rationalismus." Voss had come to Heidelberg in 1805.

271 Cf. Galland, op. cit., p. 343, also cf. Stimmen aus Maria-Laach, III, p. 549.

272 Cf. Galland, op. cit., p. 240 f.

273 Cf. Galland, op. cit., p. 263 f.

come to share with him his exile. He returned with them to Switzerland and took up his abode in Aarau. Here they remained until October, 1821, when they retraced their steps once more to Strassburg.[274]

Görres now severed the last thread that connected him with Prussia. Finding his efforts unsuccessful in having the decree against him revoked, he published in the beginning of the year 1822 his defense, "The Condition and Affairs of the Rhine Province and Personal Affairs" (In Sachen der Rheinprovinz und in eigener Angelegenheit),[275] which article he had completed shortly before leaving Aarau. It contains a brilliant vindication of himself against the attitude of the Prussian government; but, with it, he tore down every bridge that would have made a return possible.[276]

In the meantime the Revolution had been, and was, tossing to and fro among the countries of Europe. To meet the threatening danger, the members of the Holy Alliance, who had met, first at Troppau (1820), then at Laibach (1821), were now, 1822, meeting in the Congress of Verona. Görres, always on the lookout, gave expression to his thoughts, hopes, and wishes in a work, written on the eve of the Congress, entitled "The Holy Alliance and the People in the Congress of Verona" (Die heilige Alliance und die Voelker auf dem Congress von Verona).[277] He demands that the Congress be not only one of the princes (rulers), but also of the people,—the people's voice being the "Vox Dei". He meditates on the conditions existing in the various countries of Europe, nay, on those of the world at large, and on the sources of the existing evils,—and then passes on to his own country. He examines the various races and parties of the empire (Austrian) on which depends the re-birth of the German nation, and then makes the following statement: "The entire generation that saw the Revolution, and bore both shame and honor,—none of these,

274 Cf. Ibid., pp. 270 and 279.
275 "Politische Schriften," IV, pp. 485-640.
276 Cf. Schellberg, Görres, op. cit., p. 28.
277 "Politische Schriften," V, pp. 1-124.

neither rulers nor people, shall see the Promised Land, the land of Freedom and of Rest."[278]

Yet, Görres does not despair, but rests his hope in the political virtues of the German people,—in their hoarded treasure of religious faith, in their capacity for idealistic enthusiasm, in their valor, their sound and healthy domestic virtues, their moral strength and unshakable loyalty, and in their uprightness, industry, and sobriety. A re-birth (national), he says, cannot take place on part of the government alone by mere formulas and enactments, but only through the mutual coöperation between both government and people.[279]

The time of humiliation was now to end for Görres. The daily prayer of the devout Diepenbrock was to see its fulfillment, namely: "that the Lord might preserve him (Görres) yet many years, and give him daily an abundance of grace and light and power for carrying out the noble mission for which the Lord had prepared him, i. e., to be a witness, a champion, of the ETERNAL TRUTHS in the face of a corrupt generation".[280] It happened thus:—In November, 1825, there appeared in the "Catholic", from the pen of Görres, an article bearing the title "Der Kurfuerst Maximilian der Erste an den Koenig Ludwig von Baiern bei seiner Thronbesteigung,"[281] which is an outline of virtue and justice as a prince should possess them. King Louis received a copy of it through the courtesy of Ringseis,[282] a circumstance which eventually led to a favorable change in the external affairs of Görres.

King Louis succeeded his father, King Maximilian, on the throne of Bavaria, October 12, 1825. Through the influence of Diepenbrock, and the good impression Görres had made at the Munich Court by the said apostrophe, the latter obtained from the King, in 1827,

278 Cf. Ibid., p. 118 f.
279 Cf. Ibid., p. 119 ff.
280 See Galland, op. cit., p. 365 (translated).
281 "Politische Schriften, V, pp. 235-236.
282 Cf. Galland, op. cit., p. 378.

the chair of the professorship of history in the University of Munich.

Here Görres became the center of that group of distinguished Catholic thinkers whom King Louis had gathered together, in order to promote a strong and free development of the hitherto debased and despised Catholicism. Among the most eminent members of this circle we find the names of Arndts, Cornelius, Doellinger, Moehler, Phillips, Ringseis, and Streber, the efforts of whom form so brilliant an epoch in the history of the revival of Catholic life in Germany.

Görres' nomination to the Munich professorship, marks the fourth[283] and last epoch of his life. It was for him the glorious evening of an eventful career. What mattered it now that he had suffered! Everything that strengthens hurts. This is true in music, in art, everywhere; it is especially true in the making of a great character. Görres was well prepared for the great work that lay before him,—that of defending the Rights of the Church of which the Catholics of Germany are still enjoying the fruits, and of scattering broadcast the seeds of true Christian ideals and principles as a further and yet stronger effort against the deceitful Rationalism, that was still flooding the country and materializing the minds of both rulers and people.

The Rationalists had made every effort to prevent Görres' appointment to the University chair. When this had become an accomplished fact in spite of their opposition, they prophesied, since "the wish is father to the thought", that he would have no listeners. However, the first lecture was so well attended that the hall, in which it was held, proved almost too small. As time went on the attendance rather increased than diminished, so that soon a larger hall had to be assigned to him. In a letter to Diepenbrock, Görres speaks of a frequent attendance of almost five hundred persons.[284]

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283 We allow ourselves a fourfold division of the life of Görres: 1. The Storm and Stress Period. 2. The Romantic Period. 3. The Exile. 4. The Munich Period.

284 Cf. "Gesammelte Briefe," III, p. 312-315 (Letter of Dec. 20, 1827).

Through Görres and his co-workers:—Schelling, Baader, H. Schubert, Ringseis, Oken, Cornelius, the two Doellingers, and others, Munich became the intellectual center of the whole of Germany, with Görres as "King Arthur of the Round Table". And as the Görres house in Coblenz, during the days of the "War of Liberation", had been the hearth of patriotic activities, so did the Munich house, on the Schoenfeldstrasse, snugly packed away from the noise of the world, become the home, the nursery, of the new-awakening Catholic life and activity in the German countries, a rendezvous of the foremost men in Church and State, and of the most famous names in science and art.

Besides the above named, there came here Major Seyfried, the younger Windishmann, Haneberg, Brentano, Rio, Sebastian Brunner, von Moy, Ernst von Lassaulx, Boehmer, Jareke. At intervals Görres was visited by such political and religious leaders of Catholicism in other countries, as Lacordaire, Lamennais, Montalembert, and Giovanelli. For the superiority of his powerful, continuously productive and thoroughly independent mind and the nobility of his moral disposition which knew not self-seeking, gave Görres a charm which was sure to attract magnanimous spirits. And, to quote Galland again, "the Görres Home, the trellised gate of which opened so easily and was so hard to close,—with a household so unassuming, so openhearted, so unobtrusive, so amiable, so benevolent towards every visitor, was indeed an asylum that had not its equal anywhere. Whoever came here once, desired to return; for here dwelt moral strength and Rhenish candor, the most unaffected mode of life and social intercourse."[285] Görres not only propounded and demonstrated the principles of life, as he idealized them, he also carried them out in his own life. And, exclaimed Boehmer, in reference to the

285 Cf. Galland, op. cit., p. 409, trans.; also Baumgartner, Alex., S. J., "Untersuchungen und Urteile zu den Literaturen vorsohiedener Völker," Freiburg, 1912 (Ergänzungsheft) pp. 315 and 317.

mode of life in Görres' Munich home, "happy those who may take part in living such a life."[286]

Considering Görres in his capacity of teacher, we find him such too in the fullest sense of the word. For if efficiency, a far-reaching experience, talent, and finding pleasure in the eliciting of effort, a thorough understanding of the abilities and needs of the pupils, and, finally, enthusiasm in the pursuit of a noble aim, constitute the qualifications of a good teacher, then Görres was one indeed. Görres was a thinker, a critic, a reader, an arguer, a ponderer. He had learned when to hold judgment in suspense and when to give the wings of the soul free flight through the serene realms of truth and spiritual beauty. Relative to this Sebastian Brunner says, "Man muss sich angeregt fuehlen von der Kraft dieses maechtigen Geistes."[287] The imperishable goods of man are Truth, Freedom, Love, and Beauty, and who realized the value of these treasures more than Görres? They formed the core of every one of his lectures, as they form the core of every one of his works. In the mirror that he continually holds up to all we read:—Valuable alone is that which enriches and ennobles mind, for this alone enriches and ennobles life. Görres kept aloof from the crowd with its fluctuating opinions, and, consequently, his thoughts could be better and truer, and they were so.

No wonder, then, that we find Görres, in his day, the most popular professor at the Munich University, and that the silent admiration of his pupils followed him beyond the grave. In grateful reverence they kept alive, and cherished highly, the memory of their beloved teacher, happy whenever a page written by his own hand, or a book which he had used, or any other article, found its way into their possession. As distrust is the mark of a narrow intellect, or a degenerate heart, so is

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286 Gluecklich alle die, welche ein solches Leben mitleben, Galland, p. 409. See also Schellberg, op. cit., I, p. CXX.

287 Galland, op. cit., p. 406. Cf. Brunner, S., "Einige Studen bei Görres," Regensburg, 1848, 2nd ed., p. 22 ff. Read also Schellberg, op. cit., II, p. 714-718 (Anmerkungen—"Announcement of his (Görres') lectures in Heidelberg," i. e., his opening lecture.

readiness to believe in the ability of oneself and of others the characteristic of an able and great mind, and also the secret charm which attracts helpers and followers. And, according to Haneberg, it was just this trait in Görres which was the source of the enthusiastic love that the students entertained for their master and will ever entertain for him.[288] "Those who have listened to him, and that intelligently," says the same author, "know how little I say when I make the statement that his life cannot be obliterated. When in his lectures on history he tried to demonstrate the unity that exists amidst a confusion of facts, and pointed out the leading laws in a multiplicity of phenomena, was it not as if his mighty arm were leading us up to overtowering mountain heights, whence, expanded before our eyes, we viewed the migrating routes of the nations, the various systems of civilization, wending their way like streams and mountain ranges! And when he descended from the summit of order-making unity into the valley of mustering details, what a well-furnished market of living realities moved past us! And when alongside of what seems merely accidental in history, he pointed out the signs of a conscious guidance of God (einer bewussten Gottesfuehrung), what a reverence for the Divine overcame his audience!.....All the better emotions had to bestir themselves, had to germinate, and had to produce blossoms while he spoke."[289] And the power to stir up with high hopes of living to be great and worthy men, to inspire faith in the seriousness and goodness of life, is indeed a sufficient proof of the worth of an educator.

Görres' philosophy culminates in history. He recognizes history as a living unit, limited by internal laws, sharing with Herder the idea, as he did, that everything grows and develops, that nothing is perfected at once:—that there is organic growth everywhere, and so also in history. He perceives mankind as an integral part of the

288 See "Historisch-Politische Blaetter," p. 251 ff. Article: Funeral Oration of Görres by Dr. Haneberg, pp. 232-257.
289 Ibid., p. 254 (translated).

life of the world, and beliefs and institutions as having their roots in the history of man, and must, therefore, be judged in their concrete setting. History, with him, is but the "Game of Human Liberty" within the laws of nature, following the footsteps of the invisible regulating POWER, the red thread of the NEMESIS along the "Track of Time."[290]

History begins with the Creation; it has its root in God. God is present everywhere; nothing takes place unless He wills or permits it. Divine Providence, ever vigilant, directs the course of events; and its light, mirroring itself in those who are of good will, rounds itself, by dispersion, into that arch of peace which has its seat over the waters of old.[291]

Two opposite forces reveal themselves in history: Nature and Spirit. The former, although peremptory in itself, is not without light:—the creative power of God rules within, and light is, therefore, its essential element. Divine Providence, Divine Purpose, guides and directs, but does not coerce, the flashing laws of freedom, holding nature alone fettered by the reins of necessity.[292]

This divine principle in all things, Görres makes the basis, the directing norm and aim and end of history. History has its innermost unity in God, in the consciousness of the Infinite and Eternal, bound together by Thought and Love. God is the Lord and Builder, the Highest Architect. But the making of designs presupposes workmen to carry them out. This God does by means of man:—in man He established His Kingdom and through him He works out His designs.[293]

Again, since the world was created by God, the Principle of Goodness, all things were, and are, originally good in themselves. But God, in His infinite love, en-

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290 Schelling called History the "Great Mirror of the World-Soul," the "Eternal Poem of Divine Reason." Cf. Sepp, Görres, op. cit., p. 180. See also Görres, J. J., Ueber Grundlage, Gdiederung und Zeitenfolge der Weltgeschichte," Muenchen, 1880, p. 6 ff.

291 Cf. Ibid., p. 11 f.

292 Cf. Grundlage, etc., op. cit., p. 9.

293 Cf. "Sechs Geschichtliche Vorlesungen von Görres," Historisch-Politische Blaetter," Vol. XXVIII, p. 384 ff (Erste Vorlesung).

dowed the human soul with free will. This was abused, and sin, evil, came into the world. History therefore, above all, must represent a process of purification and of leading back to God. History as such, of course, cannot accomplish this. Divine Mercy, therefore, descended to fallen man—and a new and higher light shone into the darkness of the world. The doctrine of Christ was to be the new light, the new principle, which was to lay the foundation for the regenerating process that is to be brought about in history. Through the Incarnation, Clemency and Love entered the realm of history, while Knowledge, based on reason, was to be supplemented and strengthened by a higher knowledge,—that of Divine Revelation.[294]

These are some of the principles according to which Görres propounded to his students the history of the world. To him the whole of history appeared as one continuous divine creation, a drama composed by God Himself:—a living, all-embracing organism in which the greatest as well as the smallest lives its life by virtue of that same God; a mighty realm of order and harmony, in which the smaller instinctively subordinates itself to the greater and the greater to the greatest. Thus only, says Görres, can we understand intelligently the nature and events in history.[295] Boehmer calls Görres' conception of history "eine titantische", while Heine, in his "Die Romantische Schule", criticizes him for confusion and obscurity. The music of spiritual life, of course, can be interpreted only by those who themselves are imbued with it as with a living, breathing reality.

Görres desired it very much that a Christian interpretation of history be brought again into recognition. He, therefore, called into existence the excellent and timely publication "Gott in der Geschichte, Bilder aus allen Jahrhunderten der Christlichen Zeitrechnung."[296] Other

294 Cf. Ibid., p. 386 ff. See also ibid., pp. 460 ff., 533 ff., and 693 ff.

295 Cf. Galland, op. cit., pp. 528-550.

296 "Historisch-Politische Blaetter," Vol. 21, p. 311 f., contains a list of articles which Görres contributed to this publication.

historical works from his pen are "Die Japhetiden und ihre Gemeinsame Heimat Armenien", 1844,[297] and "Die drei Grundwurzeln des keltischen Stammes in Gallien und ihre Einwanderung", 1845.[298] In the former work he aimed to defend and vindicate the Mosaic account of mankind, against the attack on part of the atheistic critique of the day, and in the latter to clear up the Gaelic saga. Political questions received his attention in the "Eos", a review founded by Herbst, in 1828. The year 1842 saw his "Der Koelner Dom und das Muenster von Strassburg", in which he demonstrates the epic-symbolic meaning of the two houses of worship for the purpose of awakening in the hearts of its readers a deep religious feeling, without which no true interpretation of art is possible.

But what engrossed the attention of Görres most since his sojourn in Strassburg, was the study of Mysticism, Mystic Theology. He carefully studied its various phases, and strove,by every means at his disposal,to comprehend thoroughly the nature of Christian Mysticism, which stands in so strong a contrast with Rationalism. His many travels to Tyrol and Northern Italy, since 1830, were all made for the purpose of research work in this field. There lived at this time in Tyrol the estatic young women Dominica Lazarri, Crescentia Niglutsch, and Maria von Mörl, through whom the higher *mystical* life of grace was placed anew before the world. Görres was particularly interested in Maria von Mörl of Kaltern in Southern Tyrol. He saw her frequently and made close observations and studies of the various phenomena connected with her mystical life. He looked upon her as one to whom was given the care of the sanctuary lamp, that its light might not be extinguished through indifference, while infidelity and irreligion were abroad devastating the vineyard of the Lord.[299]

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297 Second edition, Regensburg, 1845, entitled "Die Voelkertafel des Pentateuch."

298 Reprinted in "Abhandlungen der Historischen Classe der Koenigl. Bayerischen Academie der Wissenschaften, Vierter Band, in Reihe der Denkschriften der XX. Band, München, 1846.

299 Cf. Galland, op. cit., p. 484 ff.; also Görres, J. J. von, "Die Christliche Mystik," Regensburg, 1879, Vol. II, p. 510.

Görres, finally, found himself prepared to write his great work, "Die Christliche Mystic." But since this will be the subject matter of the succeeding chapter we shall pass on to Görres, as the great champion on the side of the German Catholics, in the great conflict that was then being waged between Church and State.

In 1836 Clement August of Droste-Vischering was elevated to the Arch-bishopric of Cologne, and happened to get into conflict with the government regarding mixed marriages. In Prussia, in 1803, the common law regarding mixed marriages was so formed that, unless both parents were opposed to it, the children were required to be educated in the church of the father. By an order of the Cabinet, issued in 1825, this requisition was extended to the province of the Rhine (and to Westphalia). A brief of Pius VIII, the "Venerabilis fratres," March 25, 1830, stated that the laws of the Church on mixed marriages could not be made to harmonize with the royal decree of 1825. Droste insisted on carrying out the Brief; the government remained obstinate, and, in consequence, affairs came to a crisis. On the evening of November 20, 1837, the Bishop was forcibly taken from his archiepiscopal residence and imprisoned in the fortress of Minden. It was then that Görres wrote in four weeks his greatest work, "Athanasius". Having stood so long on the watchtower observing and noticing the signs of the times, he saw that the moment had come to strike the decisive blow for the liberty of the Church, and he did so.

The first part of the work is devoted to a brilliant vindication of the conduct of the Archbishop. "He suffers", says Görres, "because he wants to render to Caesar the things that are Caesar's and to God the things that are God's. The ruler is to be the protector (Schirmvogt), not the oppressor (Zwingvogt) of the Church." He demanded that the prelate be placed before an open court, in face of both confessions, Catholics as well as Protestants, and that he be judged by an ecclesiastical court, since even Constantine, previous to his baptism, had

found it expedient that a Bishop be judged by an ecclesiastical court.[300]

Görres condemned the doctrine of total separation of Church and State as heresy. He says that as long as the Catholic Christian viewpoint of the world, i. e., the continuity of the Supernatural with the Natural, of Revelation with Reason, of the Spiritual with the Temporal, prevailed, there was present, in Church and State, order and harmony, which to bring about is the great principle of *organization* in the kingdom of God. Love of God and neighbor was then the bond which united all into a higher living whole. But when puffed up by arrogance and pride, man revolted against this order that was sustaining him, and began the struggle against the Church, then there developed in all fields a wholesale process of disintegration, which has continued through the centuries down to our own day. First came the Reformation, which was but an apostasy from the union of the two natures in man, the Spiritual and the Material;—it has since split up into Rationalism and Pietism; and that which the Reformation has accomplished in the Church, the Revolution has accomplished in the State, so that here, too, a disruption came about by that same process of disintegration. With the revolt against that "great principle of unity" in the Church, there came that appalling confusion of ideas, of the principle of "Right" and of "Life":—that rage of the tyranny of Reason which claims the power to bind and to fetter with formulas of figures and characters all that is higher in man;—that absolute materialistic viewpoint of the world which has taken hold of the minds as though it had seen the head of the Medusa:—upon the shoulders of these three genii of our present century must be laid the responsibility of the catastrophe that has befallen us.[301]

Thus spoke Görres. In vain did Rationalists, Pietists, Hegelians, Hermesians, Jansenists, Jurists, and Politi-

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300 Cf. Görres, "Athanasius," Regensburg, 1838, p. 16 f., 46 f., and 87 f.

301 Cf. Athanasius, op. cit., pp. 90 ff., 93 f., 95 ff., 125 f. (trans.)

cians, send out their invectives. Ere long "Athanasius," in four large editions, had spread over all Germany, and was read everywhere. The Catholics saw in its pages clearly and definitely stated what for centuries, as pains and wishes and hopes, had slumbered in their bosoms. A powerful Catholic viewpoint and public opinion now arose in Germany, which enforced respect on every side.

History tells the outcome of the cause under question. With Frederic William IV ascending the throne of Prussia, June 7, 1840, the innocence of the Archbishop and the rights of the Church were acknowledged, and matters came to be adjusted.[302]

After the settlement of the Cologne troubles, Görres wrote, in 1842, his "Kirche und Staat nach Ablauf der Kölner Wirren", in which he takes a short but profound retrospect of the event, which was to be of such import for the future of Catholic Germany, verifying the significant words which are found on the title page of the "Athanasius", "O felix culpa, quae talem ac tantum meruit habere redemptorem".

Previous to this, in 1838, Görres had written, in answer to the critics of the "Athanasius", a work called the "Triarier," in which he opposed H. Leo, P. Marheinicke, and K. Bruno, as the advocates of *liberalism* in science. It achieved the spiritual victory over the trio.[303]

Görres was now at the zenith of his fame.[304] Such men of distinction as the Duke de Chambord, Prince de Montmorency, Archduke Charles of Austria, Prince Metternich, the Dukes Stolberg, Resseguier, Bielinski, and others, considered it an honor to visit or to get into communication with him. When his son Guido visited Rome in the autumn of 1848, and was granted two private audiences with the Pope, the latter greeted

302 See Alzog, J., op. cit., Mainz ed., pp. 1102 and 1104.

303 The same volume contains also two treatises written in commemoration of the first two anniversaries of Droste's arrest, Nov. 20, 1837. Phillips places the "Triarier" even above the "Athanasius."—(Galland, op. cit., p. 616).

304 On New Year's Day of 1839, King Louis bestowed on Görres the "Civil Order of Merit" with which was connected the personal title of nobility.

him on the first occasion with these words, "Lei è il figlio d'un grande padre; il suo padre ha scritto il Atanasio," and on the second occasion, "Le è il figlio di San Atanasio." But the best reward, no doubt, Görres found within himself, in the consciousness of having done his duty, and of having well applied the great gifts of mind and heart of which he was the possessor.

Together with the "Athanasius," Catholic opinion found a vehicle in the Historisch-Politische Blätter, edited in Munich by a number of Görres' friends. Of this publication, too, Görres was the chief support. It opened its career in 1838, under the editorial management of Phillips and Guido Görres, with a most interesting article, "Die Weltlage," from the pen of Görres. Görres' last contribution, "Die Aspekten an der Zeitenwende", a very significant article regarding the conditions of the time as they then existed, appeared in the January number of 1848, shortly before his death, while there is not one of the preceding twenty volumes, with the exception of volume seven, which does not contain something from his gifted pen.[305]

Once more Görres steps forth as the Champion of Catholic life and principles in his "Die Wallfahrt nach Trier", in 1845, and then Görres ceased to be a publicist. No one had done more to aid "Truth" and "Right". No other had seen so clearly into the future. He had attacked egotism and abuse of power wherever he met them. His enemy, therefore, was legion. Yet, says Galland, and truly so, you will seek in vain for one word of invective against his adversaries in any one of his works. It was the matter that he considered in any question of dispute, and not the man. He hammered down on Absolutism, and Rationalism, and False Enlightenment, and Godlessness; carved Iniquity with the knife of satire, and scourged Folly by his wit, but in the midst of the battle he had ever a friendly hand to stretch out to his opponent.[306]

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305 Cf. Galland, op. cit., p. 621 ff. From 1843-47, Sepp wrote his "Life of Jesus," of which Görres wrote the introduction. In a later popular edition, this latter is wanting.

306 Cf. "Gesammelte Briefe," II, pp. 80, 116 f., and 545 f.—Notice Görres' sentiments towards Voss and Frederic William III.

On January 29, 1848, at about 7 o'clock in the morning, Görres died, after a short illness of about two weeks, and well prepared by the rites of the Church. In the afternoon of the day set for his burial, January 31st, his pupils bore him on their shoulders to his last resting place.

Here, then, we have in short the life of Görres, the German O'Connell, as he is often called. He stands out before us as a benefactor, not only of his own country, but of mankind at large. Bernheim refers to him as one of those who, after the French Revolution, have made it their endeavor to accommodate to the progress of time the Catholic viewpoint of the world, first formulated by St. Augustine in his 22. libri de Civitate Dei.[307] And if some have called Görres "bigotedly religious,"[308] "the honorable Jacobin in the monk's cowl,"[309] "free spirited zealot" and "Hotspur,"[310] "Dunkelmann"[311] and "feurigster Schwaermer fuer die kirchliche und religiöse Sclaverei",[312] this cannot detract the least from the greatness in which he stands forth before those who can appreciate true greatness. Those men were, or are, not of his mind, nor of his heart, and he consequently remained, or remains, to them an enigma. Spalding says, "Would you have an ox admire the sunrise or the pearly dew, when all he feels the need of is grass?" Görres was right when he held that the religious view of life must forever remain the true view, since no other explains our *longings* and *aspirations*, or justifies our *hopes* and *enthusiasms*.

We may close this effort of analyzing and synthetizing

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307 Cf. Bernheim, "Lehrbuch der Historischen Methode und der Geschichts-philosophie," Leipzig, 1903, pp. 639 and 640. On page 409, ibid. (note), Görres is credited with impartiality in his critique.

308 Brandes, op. cit., II, p. 313.

309 Treitschke, "History of Germany in the Nineteenth Century," New York, 1915, Vol. I, p. 368.

310 Ibid., p. 604.

311 "Allgemeine deutsche Biographie," Leipzig, 1879, Vol. IX, p. 384.

312 Kurz, H., "Geschichte der deutschen Literatur," Leipzig, 1870, Vol. III, p. 709 a. Baumgartner speaks of Görres as "der hochbegabte, universelle," Joseph von Görres (op. cit., p. 307); Bobeth as "der tapfere Görres" (op. cit., p. 162).

the life of "des gewaltigen Säkularmenschen," as a writer calls Görres',[313] in the masterly lines from the pen of one of his students, Johann Schrott—

"O deutsches Volk, der grössten Söhne einen
Hast du verloren, den dein Boden trug,
Sein war dein Jauchzen und dein Weinen,
Sein jede Wunde, die der Feind dir schlug.
Für dich hat er gerungen und gestritten,
Du hast allein sein grosses Herz besessen,
Und dir zu Liebe hat er viel gelitten,
Doch Alles hast du heute schier vergessen."[514]

But, happily, Görres has not been forgotten in his native land, as it would appear from the last line of the above epitaph; nor has his work perished with him, as we shall see in Chapter X. The said line refers to the revolutionary years of the middle of the last century.

313 Kehrein, J., "Biographischliterarisches Lexikon der katholischen deutschen Dichter, Volks und Jugendschriftsteller," Stuttgart, 1886, p. 119.

314 Galland, op. cit., p. 1 (Einleitung).

CHAPTER IX.

GÖRRES' "DIE CHRISTLICHE MYSTIK."

We have seen how the whole life of Görres was spent, in the combat with the tendency of the age to do away with "mystery," with the belief in the Supernatural. Much had been accomplished in counteracting this tendency, not only by Görres and his co-workers, but also by such able defenders of Supernaturalism in the Protestant Church as previously spoken of.[315] Rationalism had about reached the eve of its glory in Germany, when David Strauss arose to gather, in a last and desperate effort, all its forces, as it were, to maintain its field. Like Apelles of old, he rushed forth in his "Life of Jesus," 1835, to deal the death blow to its opponent, Supernaturalism. But, in the field of the latter, he was to meet with another Apelles fully his equal. This was Görres in his "Die Christliche Mystk," 1836-1842.[316]

Scientists, philosophers, and even theologians, Catholic as well as Protestant, had carefully avoided coming in contact with Mysticism, for, said they, in the words of Görres, "Hüte dich Kind, es beisst! man weiss ja schon zum Voraus, es ist Alles Aberglauben aus dem Nebelland, wo sie das Wetter brauen."[317] Görres himself opens the preface of the work in asking the question: "Why a book on Mysticism at a time so unfavorable as this? Has not the final word been spoken on this subject long ago? Does it not lie abjectly imprisoned in the Dresden library under the repulsive title *"Philosophia falsa et fanatica"?* However, Görres thought it necessary that the atmosphere be incensed somewhat with holy things in order to give relief to the world that had become oppressed, choked, with the heavy vapor of the

315 See Dissertation, Chapter III, p. 53; also Hurst, op. cit., Chapters IX and X.

316 Four volumes; 2nd ed., 1879, 5 volumes.

317 Görres, J. J., "Christliche Mystik," Regensburg, 1879, Vol. I, p. 12 (Vorrede).

"*Assa foetida*" of the Rationalists, which it was forced to inhale for so long a time.[318]

No doubt it did require more than ordinary courage to come forward with a subject, such as Christian Mysticism, in an age which had become accustomed, as to Canon Sheehan, not to see cumuli or cirrhi, but only gases in transition from form to form; not man in all his glory and dignity as it comes to him from his "Sonship of God" and "Heirship of Heaven",—but only in his skeleton or crumbling frame in one shape or another of decomposition and disease.[319]

But Görres was equal to the task. Sainte-Foi says, "Personne n'était plus en état que lui d' aborder une matière aussi délicate, et de la traiter convenablement.. Plusieurs, même parmi ses amis, s' étonnaient quelquefois de le voir consacrer les derniers efforts de sa vie à une oeuvre dont ils ne comprenaient pas l' importance. Mais lui, avec ce regard prophétique que donne le génie, appuyé sur une longue expérience, apercevait déjà les premiers symptômes de ces désordres monstrueux de l' esprit et du coeur que nous voyons se produire au grand jour sous nos yeux."[320]

When Görres speaks of Christian Mysticism he means the mysticism which has its home in the Gospels, and as such, in the Church founded by Christ. Its foundation and source is the Incarnation,—the union of the *divine* with the *human*, in order that the latter may be united with the divine. What took place in Christ and what was done by Him and through Him, was not to be merely a passing event:—it was to endure in His Church and pass on from generation to generation in endless continuity as a forcible testimony of the supernatural. The Incarnation itself was to be continued in the Holy Eucharist, while the sublime life and the wonderful

318 Cf. "Christliche Mystik," op. cit., Vol. I, p. III.
319 Cf. Sheehan, "The Intellectuals," New York and London, 1911, p. 244. See also "Christliche Mystik," op. cit., Vol. I, p. IV ff.; also Sainte-Foi, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 6 f. (Préface du Traducteur).
320 Ibid., op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 6 and 7 (Préface du Traducteur).

works of Christ, according to His own promise,[321] were to be continued in the saints. The former, together with the other means of grace, constitutes the esoteric side, and the latter the exoteric side of Christian Mysticism.[322]

We all know that there is in our soul a capacity for more truth and perfection and happiness than we can ever acquire through the knowledge and possession of the finite. There is truth in the saying, "Man's aim always exceeds his grasp." In art, in morals, in science, he seems continually aware of the relative, because it seems he has a certain consciousness of the *absolute*, the *unconditional*, the *infinite*,—a certain apprehension of the standard which he has never been able to formulate for himself. St. Augustine, who perhaps more than any other, has sounded the enigma and depth of man's life and nature, gives us the explanation when he says: "Tu (Domine) excitas, ut laudare te delectat; quia fecisti nos ad te, et inquietum est cor nostrum donec requiescat in te."[323]

God being the end of man, the human heart, whether within or without the Church, always has sought, and always will seek, its rest in Him, i. e., will strive to know God, to love Him, and become united with Him. The methods which man adopts for this purpose may be, and, no doubt, are determined by varying temperaments or circumstances, but among them has always been and always will be the *inner way*,—the effort to pass beyond the many-colored dome of life into the "white radiance" of *true reality* beyond it.[324]

However, a direct or immediate or empirical knowl-

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321 "Amen, Amen I say to you, he that believeth in Me the works that I do, he also shall do; and greater than these shall he do." (St. John XIV, 12). And again, "But when he, the Spirit of truth, is come, he will teach you all truth. For he shall not speak of himself, but what things soever he shall hear, he shall speak; and the things that are to come, he shall shew you. He shall glorify Me; because he shall receive of mine, and shall shew it to you." (Ibid., XVI, 13-14).

322 Cf. "Christliche Mystik," op. cit., Vol. I, p. 167 ff.

323 "Confessiones," C. H. Bruder's edition, Leipzig, 1837, p. 1.

324 Cf. Sharpe, A. B., "Mysticism: Its True Nature and Value," London, 1910, p. 40 f.

edge of God we cannot have in the ordinary course of things, as follows from the very nature of the case:—God is no more to be directly apprehended by our senses than an idea or a thought or emotion. But, so the Church teaches, what man cannot know by natural reason he can know through revelation and faith, that which he cannot attain by his natural powers he can reach by the grace of God. God has gratuitously elevated human nature to a supernatural state. He has assigned as its ultimate end the direct vision of Himself, the Beatific Vision. But this end can only be reached in the next life; in the present life we can but prepare ourselves for it with the aid of revelation and grace. To some souls, however, even in the present life, God gives a very special grace by which they are exalted to feel His sensible presence. The soul, in this instance, is elevated, so to say, by an act of God, above the influences of the senses and the sphere of the sensible world into an atmosphere of calm and profound contemplation, approaching, at least remotely, in this sublime exercise of the nobler faculties, the state of angelic beings or the condition of incorporate spirits. It constitutes what is called true contemplation, or Divine Union. In this act there is no annihilation or absorption of the creature into God, but, according to St. John of the Cross, "the substance of God touches the substance of the soul,"[325] i. e., God becomes intimately present to the created mind, and this, enlightened by special light, contemplates with ineffable joy the Divine Essence. It is this phase in the life of the saints, and this alone, that really constitutes true or Divine Mysticism:[326]—supernatural visions, as such, miracles, etc., are secondary, and if bestowed, are bestowed for the welfare of the Universal Church (zum Wohle der ganzen Kirchengemeinschaft).[327]

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325 "St. John of the Cross, 'The Living Flame of Love,'" Translated by Lewis, London, 1911, Stanza II, 1, IV. See also Louismet, op. cit., Chap. I.

326 Cf. "Christliche Mystik," op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 21, 167-174, and 494 f.

327 Cf. Ibid., Vol. I, p. 177.

But since miracles, visions, etc., may, and do occur in the corporal and spiritual lives of the saints, Görres endeavors to give us not a bare and dry history of them, but to explain and prove them scientifically. Thus far Hagiology had been written for edification only; Görres sought to write it not only for the sake of edification, but also for that of truth.[328] Modern scientific methods had endeavored, and were endeavoring, to prove away the belief in the supernatural. But Görres holds that an attack from a scientific standpoint must be met by an answer from a like point of view.[329]

Görres, therefore, took upon himself the task to discover and to point out the exact line of demarcation, as far as that is possible, where the realm of the merely natural ends and that of grace begins. As to Pere Poulain[330] in our own days, so to Görres the interior life ap-

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328 In the Vorrede (preface) of Vol. II, p. IV, of his "Mystik," Görres asks: "When has a book appeared in these our days, which, leaving higher considerations aside for the present, has in the interest of science alone sought to explain this variety of most remarkable and far-bearing events; facts, acts, and experiences which give us an insight into the interior recesses of the soul and lay open its most hidden nature; and not only of the soul but also of the physical organism of man, and throw thus the greatest light on metaphysiology and metapsychology? These materials have lain scattered about openly, yet no one has thought it worth while to stoop and collect them. In vain has the rich harvest presented the nodding ears, no one would take the trouble to apply the sickle. For the learned put their heads together and decided that the miraculous phenomena were all false, mere jugglery, or the hallucinations of superstitious imaginations, and that it would be contemptible and ridiculous to give the matter as much as a thought." Görres finds it wholly unscientific to throw aside, as false, material which has stood the test of centuries, without first giving it a scientific and open and fair investigation and examination. (Translated).

329 Cf. Ibid., Vol. I, p. III ff. (Vorrede).

330 Cf. Poulain, A. P. A., "The Graces of Interior Prayer," London and St. Louis, 1911 (trans. by Leonora L. Yorke Smith), p. XI (preface), and "Christliche Mystik," op. cit., Vol. I, p. XVI f., and Book 1 and 2. See also Hamilton, Clarence Herbert, "A Psychological Interpretation of Mysticism," Chicago, 1916, p. 8 f.

peared to be a process, an orderly evolution, of which, by virtue of the greater advance in modern science, there can be outlined more exactly than ever its laws, and be pointed out more precisely its successive stages,—until, at last, with gathered strength and unerring aim, the soul is borne towards God beyond the range of our sight,—into a world still further withdrawn from sense than that found in the interior life of the ordinary devout Christian in his intercourse with his Maker, a world where, as said before, very few may enter, but where the chosen ones have a sight and feeling of God and enjoy His presence not less, but more really, than we apprehend objects with our bodily senses.

Having given in the preface of the first volume of his "Mystik" the reasons for issuing the work, Görres proceeds in the "Prodomus Galeatus" to tell us first of all what he understands by "Mystik" in general. "Mysticism," he says, "is an intuitional conception brought about through the mediation of a higher light, and a process and a mode of activity effected by means of a higher liberty; just as the ordinary way of knowing and doing is caused by the interaction of the natural spiritual light of the soul and the personal freedom implanted in it."[331] "This," he says, "is the shortest intelligent expression of that which the subsequent pages (of his Mystik) are to prove and demonstrate."

After a forceful allegory,[332] in which he mirrors Rationalism in its works and adherents, Görres gives a survey of the field which he intends to cover. He starts out from the standpoint that there exist but two fundamentally distinct substances: one eternal, creating, yet iself

331 "Die Mystik ist ein Schauen und Erkennen unter Vermittlung eines hoeheren Lichtes, und ein Wirken und Thun unter Vermittlung einer hoeheren Freiheit, wie das gewoehnliche Wissen und Thun durch das dem Geiste eingegebene geistige Licht, und die ihm eingepflanzte persoenliche Freiheit sich vermittelt findet" (Vol. I, p. 1). Görres held that the highest kind of activity which our intellect is capable of, is not reasoning, but intellectual intuition. Cf. ibid., Vol. I, p. 53 f.; also Mivart, St. George, "The Groundwork of Science," New York, 1898, p. 253.

332 Cf. "Christliche Mystik," op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 1-11.

uncreated,—the Godhead (Gottheit), God; the other finite, non creative itself, but created by the former into its (God's) own image and likeness. A twofold life then is possible with each individual, or "unum ens per se" (jedes einzelne selbstaendige Geschoepf) :—one essentially self-centered, natural, and worldly; the other essentially expansive, spiritual, and divine. This latter life is rightly called "mystical," since it has its root in God, the profound mysterium of all *being*.[333]

Again, as God is one in essence, but three in personality, so is the world one in the Divine Mind which produced it, but triune in its manifestation: the material or visible world, the spiritual or invisible world, and the organic world, which latter forms the link between the first and second. In man these three worlds: the material, the spiritual, and the organic, are so united as to form *one single personality:*—man being dreieinig in Einpersoenlichkeit.[334]

On this point Lacordaire says,[335] in answer to the Rationalism which denies matter and the Rationalism which denies spirit,—"Between God Who is all, and nothingness which is nothing, there existed, as such, an infinite distance. This was to be filled by creation. With God, as center, creation was to take two roads,—towards the two extremes of things: towards nothingness by a graduated diminution in descending, towards God by a constant perfecting itself in ascending. This demanded two essentially dissimilar elements, matter and spirit: spirit, which is indivisible and the element of the infinitely great; matter, unceasingly divided and the element of the infinitely little: both, in their diverse natures, sufficient to fill by their calculated elevation and degradation the infinite space which separates the supre-

333 "Christliche Mystik," op. cit., Vol. I, p. 11.

334 Cf. Ibid., Vol. I, p. 12. Compare with these principles, Reiff, P. F., "Plotin und die deutsche Romantik, Euphorion," Leipzig, 1912, pp. 591-612.

335 Lacordaire told his hearers that rationalism should never oppose to one single Christian dogma a negation more probable than the affirmations of faith. See Lacordaire, op. cit., p. 124.

mely imperfect from the supremely perfect. "Duo fecisti, Domine, unum prope nihil, scilicet Materiam Primam", says St. Augustine, "alterum prope te, scilicet Angelum"—"Thou hase made two things, O God; one near to nothingness, which is primary matter; the other near to Thyself, which is pure spirit. Two series of being arise from this, one series descending on the side of nothingness, the other ascending towards God. The one we know by our senses, the other is revealed to us by faith.

These two worlds, the material and the spiritual, radically distinct in themselves, were not to remain separate, "FACIAMUS HOMINEM"! said the Lord,—and man appeared, participating in matter by which he became united to the inferior world, and in spirit by which he became united to the superior world; at the same time the body acting with the soul and the soul with the body, not as two beings, but as one only,—as one single personality. This solved the mystery of universal unity. Placed in the lowest rank of the ascending line of beings and on the highest step of the descending line, concentrating in his personality all the gifts of mind and all the forces of matter, he, man, by his presence stamps upon Creation the seal of unity, and with unity the seal of perfection.[336]

Man, now, in virtue of his dual nature, can, says Görres, and science has confirmed it, extend the sphere of his normal activities in two directions: one in the direction of matter, the other in the direction of spirit. For mind and matter in man, although forming a substantial unit, possess by divine ordination, each a degree of independence,—a certain power to determine, each for itself, the acts for which they, as a unit, are responsible; i. e., man may make his corporal faculties the source and medium of his vital activities in such a manner as to expand more or less, or all, his life forces in the interest of matter; and in proportion as he does so he identifies himself more and more with this element and renders him-

336 Cf. Lacordaire, op. cit., p. 127 ff.

self homogeneous with plant and animal propensities and lives a life analogous to that of the plant and the brute. On the other hand, he may so cultivate his spiritual faculties that the forces of his bodily activities become more or less, or altogether, undermined; and, again, to the extent as he does so, he identifies himself with the life of the soul or spirit alone, and renders himself homogeneous with spiritual propensities,—to lead a life analogous to that of spirits.[337]

Every such disturbance of man's dual activity and every displacement of the center of his life-forces from their habitual unison, to the exclusive use of either his material or spiritual capacities, puts him in an abnormal condition and makes his life and his manner of acting extraordinary, yet not unnatural. For, no matter to what heights man may climb in the sphere of the spiritual or to what depths he may descend in the scale of the material, he cannot call forth a play of forces the potentiality of which is not rooted in his human personality. Composed, as he is, of body and soul, he is governed by a double law, that of the soul or spirit and that of the body, or matter, and from the union of these two elements there results a reciprocal relationship which can never cease. [338]

It being established that man can extend the sphere of his normal activities, there follows, according to Görres, the other truth, that he may suspend his intercourse with the set of objects corresponding to one element in his dual nature and put himself in direct communication with the objects of the other. Here, then, we may seek for a glimpse of what is ordinarily understood by the term mysticism:—the condition of mysticism arises whenever an intrinsically intimate union of one object is entered into with another. All mysticism, whether in philosophy or religion, whether it be Christian mysticism, or magnetism, or diabolism, or magic, appears as an attempt, more or less successful, to come into the presence of a something from the sight of which we are or-

337 Cf. "Christliche Mystik," op. cit., Vol. III, p. 145 ff.
338 Cf. "Christliche Mystik," op. cit., Vol. I, p. 27-157 (Natuerliche Unterlage der Mystik).

dinarily excluded by our subjection to the senses. This also follows from the very etymology of the word, the term being derived from the Greek root "μν" which suggests the notion of *closed up, shut up,* from sense expression; *concealed, secret.* Every so-called mystic regards the world as but a small fragment of a much larger whole, of a Beyond, from the realms of which he can obtain knowledge and experience foreign to and not within the ordinary reach of man. He seeks communication with existences above and beyond the sphere of normal human activities, whether they be personalities or forces; whether they be created or uncreated spirits, or merely the secret laws of nature.[339]

Görres, accordingly, distinguishes two kinds of mysticism: nature mysticism and true or divine mysticism. If the object sought for is God, we have the latter; if something else the former.

Nature mysticism Görres again subdivides into exoteric or physical and esoteric or psychical mysticism. Physical nature mysticism has its starting point and seat in man's inferior and organic nature, drawing down with it, however, his spiritual and superior faculties by virtue of the sympathy that exists between them, and enters into intercourse with the divers realms of the material world. This form of mysticism was predominantly that of pagan antiquity,—of the augure, the sybil, the oracle, the magician, the scorcerer.[340]

Psychical mysticism, on the other hand, is the one in vogue in our own day, and reveals itself in such forms as hypnotism, animal-magnetism, clairvoyance, spiritism, and the like. It has its starting point and its seat in the spiritual faculties of man, whence it penetrates the superior nervous systems where it weaves, in a way, the mysterious bonds with which to place itself into immediate communication with the souls of the departed, as it is claimed, or with the innermost recesses of man's psychic life.[341]

339 Cf. Ibid., Vol. III, pp. III ff. (Vorrede) and 6 ff.
340 Cf. "Christliche Mystik," op. cit., Vol. I, p. 13 f.
341 Cf. Ibid., Vol. I, p. 14 f.

All forms of nature mysticism have their resort in the sciences and constitute what may be called Practical Metaphysics. Modern Psychology holds it summed up in the doctrine of the so-called SUBCONSCIOUS or SUBLIMINAL PERSONALITY, or, as Jung calls it, the LIBIDO OF THE ORGANISM. Here it finds, side by side, the sources of man's most animal instincts, his least explicable powers, his most spiritual intuitions: the ape and tiger, and the soul. Genius and prophecy, table turning and clairvoyance, hypnotism, hysteria, and Christian science—all are explained by the so-called subconscious mind.[342]

Nature mysticism is essentially profane. Each form, in its own way, places creatures in communication with each other without elevating them above their own level, nay, may render them utterly depraved. Not that it is anything bad in itself. Nature in all its various phases is the work of God, hence it can be neither evil in itself nor in its relation to man. God made all things good. Holy Scripture says, "And God saw all the things that He had made, and they were good."[343] Yet danger lurked in nature mysticism from the day that sin entered the world and caused a separation between creation and Creator. Thenceforth a new double principle, that of *good* and that of *evil*, existed in the universe: the one wholesome and conservative, the other malicious and direful,—affecting both the physical and the moral world. Thence order and disorder, confusion and harmony, death and life, the law of the flesh and that of the spirit, falsehood and truth, are in constant combat with one another everywhere and always.[344]

In the beginning when the soul was yet the unchanged image of the Divinity, and when the body, in a certain sense, reflected both the image and the vestige, the most perfect harmony reigned between the two elements in

342 Cf. Underhill, E., "Mysticism," New York, 1911, p. 62 f. See also "The Psychoanalytic Review," Vol. V, October, 1918, p. 345 f. Article: The Hound of Heaven, by T. V. Moore.

343 Genesis: I, 31.

344 Cf. "Christliche Mystik," I, p. 17.

man, the spiritual and material; because the soul, in a way, formed the body after its own image, and governed it with facility. But when sin destroyed in the soul the image of God, the divine imprint was equally destroyed in regard to the body. The soul now no longer rules over it as it did before, but must reconquer that dominion by long and constant struggle.

St. Paul says, "For I am delighted with the law of God, according to the inward man. But I see another law in my members, fighting against the law of my mind, and captivating me in the law of sin, that is in my members."[345]

The Schism of the Fall, having primarily originated in the realm of spirits, brought about in the moral world the existence of the two cities, the City of God and the City of Satan, and man placed in the midst of them, is solicited by both:—by virtue of the free will, implanted into his soul, he can become an adherent of one or the other. It is in this alternative where lies the danger and risk of man in regard to nature mysticism. He may put himself into communication with the spirits of darkness or with the spirits of light, the former being connected by intimate bonds with the so-called Black Art or Sorcery, and the latter with the so-called White Art or Theurgy.[346]

Finally, there is the true or divine mysticism, which has its resort, not in the sciences, but in the Church, as said before, and is founded *on love.* "Taste and see that the Lord is sweet", says Holy Scripture. Similarly Schlegel says, and with him Görres, "Mystik ist was allein das Auge des Liebenden am Geliebten sieht."[347] The Church in every period of her existence has had

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345 Romans, VII, 22-23. Balmes says: El pecado original es un misterio, pero este misterio explica el mundo entero"—Filosofia Fund., Vol. I, p. 535, Engl. ed., Vol. I, p. 489. Schlegel, in his "Philosophy of History" (Bohn's ed.), Lect. X, p. 279, expresses a similar opinion. See also "Christliche Mystik," op. cit., Vol. III, p. III ff. (Vorrede).

346 Cf. "Christliche Mystik," op. cit., Vol. I, p. 18 f. Consult, ibid., Vols. 3, 4 ,and 5, in which Görres endeavors to render intelligible the night-side of the supernatural.

347 "Athanaeum Fragment," 273 (op. cit.)

amongst her children men and women of so lofty a wisdom and with virtues of so extraordinary and heroic a character that the spiritual insight and the supernatural habits to be found among the faithful at large, are not in the least comparable with them in nature or effect. Divine Mysticism exalts and elevates man and renders him, so to say, Godlike, and therefore eminently fit for blessedness; just as nature mysticism, in its worst phases at least, tends to drag him down to the level of matter and renders him depraved and like unto Satan, and therefore particularly fit for perdition.

Divine mysticism, too, may be regarded from a twofold standpoint, since God may be considered in His Essence only, or as being united with the human nature in the Incarnation. Hence, here, too, we have, in the first place, a twofold mysticism: one, taking its departure from the Divine Essence, diffuses itself thence into life; the other, taking as a starting point the Logos, the Word made man, ascends thence towards the Divine Essence. The latter manifests itself under two divers forms, corresponding to the two natures of the Incarnate Word: one attaining its end through a more active life, the other through a more contemplative live. The other form of Divine Mysticism,—that attaching itself directly to the Divine Essence, is simple and serene as the latter is simple and serene, since sin has caused here no division. In each of these forms of mysticism, the world of nature and the world of spirit alike, lift the veil, as it were, which hides their mysteries from the view of the ordinary mortal.[348]

Görres, unfortunately, did not live to carry out a plan of writing the real *mystik*, namely that of the highest union, by which the Logos Himself enters the Holy Trinity.[349]

Christian Mysticism, being, in its final analysis, a free

348 Cf. "Christliche Mystik," op. cit., Vol. I, pp, 15-17.
349 Cf. Galland, op. cit., p. 495 f.

gift of God to the individual, differs, in its phenomena, with each individual mystic. But in each case, God not man, is the active force. No man, whatever be the merits of his sanctity, can initiate a life of the higher or divine mysticism in himself. "The Spirit breatheth where he will."[350] The call for this life must come from above. But it is in the power of the soul to prepare herself by the ascetic practices of the Christian life for this intimate union with her God. With Origen, Görres holds, that we are indeed made according to the image of God, but our likeness to Him only exists potentially. The divine spark already shines within us, but it has to be sought for in the inner recesses of our soul. St. Augustine says, "Noli foras exire, in te ipsum redi; in interiore homine habitat veritas; et si animam mutabilem inveneris, transcendi te ipsum."

As most writers on Christian mysticism, so Görres divides the ladder of perfection, by which the mystic ordinarily hopes to attain his end, into three distinct steps: the purgative life, the illuminative life, and the unitive life. Of the first stage Görres treats in the third book of the first volume of his "Mystik," and of the other two in the second volume.

The purpose of the purgative life is to eradicate every iniquity, root and all, from the soul. In the 23rd Psalm we read, "Who shall ascend into the mountain of the Lord: or who shall stand in His holy place? The innocent in hands, and clean of heart"..... Without holiness no man can see the Lord;—"Blessed are the pure of heart: for they shall see God." In the mystical life the work of sanctification goes forward, through extirpation of sin and evil and the spiritual upbuilding, to a degree by which charity is carried upwards to the very heights of excellence. It is for this reason that the mystical life is looked upon as the nursery of Christian heroes and the garden of heroic virtue.

The illuminative life consists in the concentration of all the faculties of the soul:—will, intellect, and feeling,

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350 St. John, III, 8.

upon God. It is a progress towards unification. The soul receives here grace upon grace, as she advances in perfection and learns more and more of the "Fulness of the Lord", until, finally, in the last stage, the Divine Vision unfolds itself in all its beauty to the soul, thus favored.[351]

From the historical standpoint, Görres sees in the mystical life essentially a process of gradual purification and a progressive return to God, and that, not only in regard to the individual, but also as to mankind at large, and holds that not only each individual mystic, but also each age and each race produces its own kind of mysticism;—not indeed as something wholly new, no, for the Church is, with him, a living body, and so also the mystical life within her;—the peculiarity of a living organism is that it contains within itself the history not merely of its own existence but also that of all its ancestors:—the change being one conditioned by surrounding circumstances.[532]

Mysticism has always yet been a potent instrument in the revival and conservation of religious belief. Its aim is not to convince nor to coerce; its propaganda is as a light shining in darkness, a fire that warms and kindles, but does not consume. The saints, in their higher mystical life, are to be for us the beacons erected and sustained by God Himself to point to that life beyond for which we are created, and to guard us against the dangers that lurk about in the Sea of Life, lest we should lose our way and suffer shipwreck, and never reach the destined port.[533]

A few words must be added in regard to the reception accorded the "Christliche Mystik" by the public. The criticism on part of the Catholics, on the whole, seems to have been favorable, although complaints were heard in

351 "Perfecta haec mystica unio reperitur regulariter in perfecto contemplativo qui in vita purgativa et luminativa, id est meditativa, et contemplativa diu versatus, ex speciali Dei favore ad infusam contemplativam evectus est." Benedict XIV, De Servorum Dei beatific., III, 26. See also "Christliche Mystik," op. cit., I, 481-495.

352 See "Christliche Mystik," op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 181-309.

353 Cf. Ibid., Vol. II, p. 500. What Görres says here of Maria von Mörl is referable to all the Saints.

regard to the philosophical briar-hedge, with which Görres surrounded the work.[354] However, it is just this scientific foundation which led to high commendations from competent judges. The famous physiologist and anatomist Doellinger (senior) says that the first book of volume one of Görres' "Die Mystik" contains the best account of anatomy, especially of that of the brain, which had been written up to that time. Giovannelli says in regard to the same book, "Only a very efficient physiologist and anatomist will feel the full power of the proofs in all their entirety."[355] Diepenbrock writes of the work as a whole: "I have enjoyed the reading of "Die Mystik" immensely and it has proven a great spiritual benefit to me." Giovannelli says, "I know of no book which has given me greater satisfaction." In the "Katholik" we read, "It is a work all-embracing, magnificently rising upward, like a Gothic cathedral, from the lowest depth of nature to the highest height of spirit, but not easily understood on account of the profound learning and the figurative representation."[356] Saint-Foi says, "One is amazed in reading the work, at the extent and the variety of the author's knowledge."[357]

The Rationalists were furious, as was expected, because the work was a decisive blow to their superficial doctrines in religious matters. Yet, even such men as Dr. Rosenkranz, a highly cultured Hegelian, could not but give expression of his admiration for the work, although, of course, he considered the whole thing, in the end, but a

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354 See Schellberg, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 544. Letter to Giovannelli, May 15, 1843.

355 "Nur ein tuechtiger Physiolog und Anatom wird die ganze Kraft der Beweisfuehrung vollen Umgangs fuehlen,"—Galland, op. cit., p. 491.

356 "Es ist ein Werk—Alles umfassend, grossartig aus der tiefsten Naturtiefe in die hoechste Geisteshoehe aufsteigend, wie ein gothischer Dom; aber nicht leicht verstaendlich wegen der immensen Gelehrsamkeit und der bilderreichen Darstellung." Cf. Ibid., p. 499 f.

357 "On est effrayé en effet, en lisant cet ouvrage, de l' etendue et de la variété des connaisance de l' auteur." Op. cit., Vol. I, p. 5.

"poesie" and a "legend."[358] "No antagonistic attack," says Galland, "that has been brought against it, has, as yet, been successful; and he regards it, up to this time (1876), as the first and only attempt towards a complete history of Mysticism, besides that of Dionysius the Areopagite, Scotus Erigena, and the Scholastic Mystics.[359] And, indeed, notwithstanding the errors contained in the work, the "Christliche Mystik" must be looked upon as a great intellecual monument of human endeavor.[360]

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358 Cf. Rosenkranz, "Studien," Leipzig, 1848, Part V, pp. 100-121. Here are found a collection of objections raised against the work. Cf. also, Werner, op. cit., Vol. V, p. 790 f.

359 Cf. Galland, op. cit., p. 501.

360 Riccarda Huch, in her "Ausbreitung und Verfall der Romantik," op. cit., p. 243 f., says, "Ein Monument von erhabener Pracht hat Görres in seiner christlichen Mystik der Kirche errichtet."

CHAPTER X.

INFLUENCE OF GÖRRES AFTER HIS DEATH.

In 1856 Julian Schmidt wrote that "his (Görres') real import does not correspond to the fame which his name has attained." "His (idem.) writings have been much read and have made confused minds still more confused, but they are now almost forgotten."[361] On New Year's Day, 1860, Frank Balderich wrote: "The name 'Joseph von Görres' is known to every German; every one knows that the name belongs to a distinguished son of the fatherland, but not everybody knows the spiritual greatness (den geistigen Reichthum) of the man, and many do not understand the peculiarity of his singular power."[362]

How, indeed, could a man be forgotten, or if so, remain forgotten, of whom a Haneberg has truly said: "Görres has died, and no one needs to ask who this Görres was. Not only in his native land, no, even far beyond its boundaries is he known as a man of no common greatness. Germany knows him, Berlin knows him, Vienna knows him, America[363] knows him. Everywhere the announcement of his demise was, or will be, received as an event of great significance. And this sympathy is

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361 "Seine (Görres') wirkliche Bedeutung entspricht nicht dem Ruf, den sein Name erlangt hat" and "seine (idem.) Schriften sind viel gelesen worden und haben verwirrte Koepfe noch verwirrter gemacht, sie sind aber bereits verschollen."—Schmidt, Julian, "Geschichte der deutschen Literatur im 19ten Jahrhundert," Leipzig, 1856, Vol. II, p. 242 (translated).

362 Frank, Balderich, Der alte Görres als Kaempe fuer Deutschlands Ehre und Recht, "Hist.-Politische Blaetter," Vol. 45 (1860), p. 161 (translated).

363 On March 20, 1848, a Solemn Requiem was celebrated for Görres in Holy Trinity Church, Cincinnati, Ohio, with Rev. Huber as celebrant and the Rev. Fathers Hammer, Lüers, and Ridder as assistants. The text for the sermon, delivered by Rev. Father Hammer, was taken from the Book of Wisdom, Chap. VII, 7-30,—Wherefore I wished, and understanding was given me: and I called upon God, and the spirit of wisdom came upon me, etc. In eloquent words expression was then given to the great things Görres had done for God and Church, the fruits of which will yet be reaped and enjoyed by generations to come. (See "Hist.-Pol. Blätter," Vol. 21, pp. 728-734).

not merely one as is ordinarily given to a savant. His word has been a living power, a shining banner (Panier) to which thousands have looked up in days of mighty upheavals as one that may be safely followed."[364]

No, Görres can never be forgotten. The power to inspire faith in the seriousness and goodness of life,—faith in mankind and in oneself as to a capacity for truth and righteousness and love;—enthusiasm for all that is great in man and outside of man, as Görres possessed it, is a dawn which sooner or later will merge into the fulness of day and shed its golden sunshine far and wide.

Shortly after Görres' death, in February, 1848, the third French Revolution broke out, and as the sparks from Paris fell, the German states burst into flames, as it had been foreseen by Görres. Liberals, radicals, and revolutionists of every degree joined hands, as if by preconcerted signal, in rebellions which shook those states to their very foundations. By the middle of March not a state in the whole of Germany had remained unaffected. Metternich met his downfall as early as March 13, and Ferdinand I fled from Vienna; Louis I, of Bavaria (patron of Görres) was forced to abdicate in favor of his son, Maximilian II; while other rulers, amongst them Frederick William IV of Prussia, hurriedly granted constitutions to appease the masses.

In this general chaos, for a time now, Görres seemed doomed to pass into oblivion. The methods of democracy, in their first encounters, bore with them the tendency to materialize everything,—to draw everything down to a common level. Ideas that lift and raise and

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364 Cf. "Hist.-Politische Blaetter," Vol. 21, p. 232 f. (Funeral Sermon of Görres by Dr. Haneberg, Feb. 3, 1848). Haneberg admonishes to follow and cultivate especially the following traits in the life of Görres: 1. Love of truth. 2. Readiness to make sacrifices for the sake of truth. 3. Simplicity and naturalness in manners and mode of living. 4. Toleration (Duldung) of all that rests on true and noble Values of Life. 5. A deep religious conviction:—a cultivation of that Ideal of Humanity as transfigured in religion—jenes in der Religion verklaerte Ideal der Menschlichkeit (Ibid., p. 254 f.)—all traits so utterly opposed to those peculiar to the spirit of Rationalism.

elevate found no place here. The old world of chivalry,—the Knights of the Round Table, the brave Sir Galahads, had to recede once more from amongst the German people, as was the case wherever these methods ruled the day. With the banishment of the Sir Galahads, Faith, too, was banished, while Mysticism, the divine child of Faith and Reason, as Thorold[365] calls it, that once led the greatest of our race to heights of now scarcely imaginable intensity of living, had to be satisfied to be mixed up with the pattern of the sorcerer and the tireuse de cartes.[366] All that Görres had contended for, seemed well-nigh ruined, and his labors to have been in vain.

But, happily, Görres was to be ably represented, and his work carried on, in this crisis, by men such as Overberg, Wittmann, Mallinkrodt, von Kettler, Windthorst, and others,—especially in the days of the so-called Kulturkampf. And as Germany rose anew above the materialism and frivolity of the age, there also came again into notice the lofty and eternal ideas of religion and history and the memory of the glories of her better days, and with this awakening there grew also the fame and the influence of Görres. His centenarium (1876) became for him verily days of triumph and of victory. Spoken and written word, tongue and pen, vied with each other, so to say, to sing his praise.

"In Görres we find combined," says Galland on the above occasion, "what we need in our own days: Faith, Hope, Love. Let us look up to him, who in life as well as in death has always proven himself the ever-wakeful Warden upon Germany's Observatory, and the warning Eckart to his brethren in faith."[367]

Diel says on the same occasion: "Deep religious faith and Christian fortitude frustrate in our days all attacks on part of the Liberals. But a great part of this deep-seated inner power and strength we owe to the endeavors and aims to which Görres has given the best part of

365 Thorold, Algar, "An Essay on Catholic Mysticism," London, 1900, p. 1.
366 Cf. Schmidt, Julian, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 94 and p. 90 ff.
367 Cf. Galland, op. cit., p. 662 (translated).

his life."[368] Even Julian Schmidt acknowledges that one would have to seek in the life of Görres for the seed of the great Catholic movement that was then (1876) sweeping over the land.[369]

That the merits of Görres were, and are, fully appreciated by his countrymen is also amply shown by the magnificent Görres window in the Cologne Cathedral, in which mansion of the Lord the spirit of Görres took delight to linger so frequently during the days of his earthly pilgrimage. Below the window is written: "Catholicae veritatis in Germania defensori glorioso, nato Confluent, 1776, denato Monachi, 1848."[370] The movement for a commemoration of Görres' name in the above Cathedral was made on July 14, 1851, by Guido Görres, Ernst von Lassaulx, and Franz Streber, and the application signed by ninety names of distinguished personages.[371]

Then, there is the great "Görresbau" in Coblenz, erected in 1866 by the Catholic Reading Society. Above its entrance are engraved the following words:

"Dies Haus das steht in Gottes Hand,
Zum Joseph Görres ist's benannt."

"This house rests in the Hand of God,
In honor of Görres, called."

But above all, credit is given to Görres, and his influence insured, by the establishment of the "Görres-Gesellschaft zur Pflege der Wissenschaft im katholischen Deutschland," through which his works and ideals are to be continued and fostered, and brought home anew to

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368 Diel, J. B., "Zum Centenarium Josephs von Görres, Stimmen aus Maria-Laach," Vol. 10, p. 260 (translated).

369 Cf. Ibid., p. 1.

370 The window was planned by Hess and others, and represents Görres in the blue gown of the philosophical faculty, humbly kneeling at the feet of the Blessed Virgin with the Christ-Child. Near him stands St. Joseph, his patron saint, and below are St. Boniface and Charlemagne, to symbolize his idea regarding the relationship between Church and State. (Cf. Galland, op. cit., p. 658 f.)

371 Cf. "Historisch-Politische Blätter," Vol. 28, pp. 134-137.

the world. It was founded on the 25th of January, 1876, the centenary of Görres' birth-day, previously referred to, and has its seat in Bonn. Like the great Master whose name it bears, it demands the cultivation of the sciences on a broad and liberal basis and according to Christian principles. Science, if it is to be a living thing must produce life and infuse forms into life (es muss Leben erzeugen und Gestalten in das Leben hineinschaffen), i. e., it must be inspiring,—it must give life an aim; in other words, it must be made the means of advancing Christ's kingdom on earth. Christ indeed searched the inner spirit, but He did not let it rest here. Freely He looked upon the world;—freely He regarded the whole order and structure of it, the whole constitution of things in which man lives—the whole array of the conditions of our life, turning His attention away from nothing. Science, therefore, too, must be broad, must be deep—it must be nothing superficial or one-sided, as the Rationalists would have it. With the study of form and appearances there must be combined the study of the essences of things, and all be made subservient to the will of the Creator.[372] All things, are for life, and life is for the sake of *truth* and *love,* and truth and love are in God the infinite living reality. There can, therefore, be no contradiction between Revelation, as entrusted to the Church of Christ, and the results of true Science; faith and science rather assist and supplement each other, as we have shown in Chapter V. This thought imbues all of Görres' writings, and forms also the foundation upon which are erected the aims and endeavors of the great Görres-Gesellschaft, as is apparent from the preamble of its Statutes, as well as from the contents of the different publications, connected

372 "Denn alle Wissenschaft," says von Hertling, "ist eine Gottesgabe gegeben zu dem Zwecke, Got zu verherrlichen, nicht aber um Gott und die von Christus gestiftete Kirche zu bekämpfen."—Jahresbericht der Görres-Gesellschaft für 1908, p. 20.

with its various activities.[373] The latter cluster around four great departments: Philosophy, the Natural Sciences, History, and Literature and Art, in all of which Görres was so intensely interested and so prolifically active, in the days of his earthly career.

Blake says, "Ages are all equal; but genius is always above the age",—and, therefore, seldom understood. "But", wrote Sepp in 1896, "a man like Görres must not remain an enigma to coming generations. For ten years I have sat at his feet and I have, therefore, the right to say: A pioneer (Bahnbrecher) like him can only remain unappreciated when looked upon from the viewpoint of but one faction. Thus says Hafis, the Persian Singer:—

> Ihn den Weisen
> Kannst Du nicht genug preisen.
> Die Worte aus seinem Munde
> Sollst Du zur Stunde
> Wie Perlen sammeln
> Und nachstammeln,
> Darnach handeln
> Und in seinen Fussstapfen wandeln."[374]

It was well then that Görres was not to remain recondite. A writer speaks of him as the "Colossus of Rhodes", the "Pharos", the "Beacon of his Time".[375] Relative to this Schellberg says, "As during his life so now (1913) he (Görres) points out to us the eternal and

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373 Cf. Jahresbericht der Görres Gesellschaft, Köln, 1909, pp. 9-11 and 16 (Salutatory address by the Rev. Hilpisch, and pp. 18-20, address by von Hertling). The latter says that the members of the Görres-Gesellschaft, as disciples of the great Görres, belong all to that class of Seekers after Wisdom of whom St. Bernard speaks, when he says: "Sunt, qui scire velint, ut aedificent, et caritas est"; and that many of them belong to those of whom the same Saint says: "Sunt, qui scire velint, ut aedificentur, et prudentia est." (Ibid., p. 99).

374 Sepp, op. cit., p. XIV (Preface).

375 Diel, op. cit., p. 732.

constructive principles and ideals of the whole of life:—Truth, Right, Liberty, as based upon *law* and *love*, and laid down so strongly in the principles of Christian Mysticism. To do right and practice justice, to find the right relation between ruler and people, between the opposing states of life (the spiritual and the secular), between the multitude of conflicting ideas, between the selfishness of the individual and the demands of the whole:—these are also the needs of the present day, and in these needs Görres ought not to be refused as an ever ready assistant, guide, and leader. He points out to us how man must turn from the confusion of contradictions towards the saving rock of the Higher Oneness,—to God as the foundation of *Love* and *Justice, Freedom* and *Truth*".[376]

"Görres, however", to quote Schellberg again, "does not stand outside the law to which even the greatest is subject: many a thing that he has written is forgotten and deserves to be forgotten". "Yet", continues the same writer, "his writings contain *values of life* which also the present generation cannot do without,—they are a spiritual fount from which it ought to draw freely".[377]

Thus, then, works Görres today, as he did in the days of his life, in the capacity of one of the Magistri not only of Germany, but also of the world at large,—as Monitor in political as well as in ecclesiastical affairs, and as the eloquent leader of the masses, not indeed in the sense of the demagogue, for unlike the demagogue he did not stoop down to the masses, but lifted them up to his own sphere and showed them there the beauty that exists in that higher plane.[378] Eucken, therefore, lauds Schellberg's edition of the "Görres' Auswahl", to which we had occasion to refer so frequently in this dissertation, as having brought nearer to the people the man who, with-

376 Cf. Schellberg, Görres, op. cit., p. 43.
377 Cf. Ibid., p. 42 f.
378 Cf. Ibid, p. 44.

out question, exercised a great influence upon the national and the spiritual life of Germany.[379]

Let us close in the words of J. B. Heinrich, who wrote in 1867: "In regard to spiritual power, depth, and universality, he, Görres, in no way stands below any one of the most famous geniuses of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, but in regard to purity and greatness of character and a mighty and wholesome influence upon his time and his people, he probably surpasses them all".[380]

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379 See Ibid., p. 52—Urteile ueber die "Görres-Auswahl" (translated).

380 Op. cit., p. 1.

CONCLUSION.

The foregoing pages reveal the fact that the results of intellectual philosophy really influence the masses more than do those of any other department of knowledge whatsoever, inasmuch as they bear most closely upon the very principles of the whole range of human activity, and elevate and depress, as the case may be, the general feeling or opinion as to the worth and sanctity of virtue, —as to the real import of life. Religious and moral, social and political life, all depend upon the kind of philosophical pillars or principles on which the whole structure rests.

Dr. Turner, in speaking of the original laws in obedience to which philosophy took the particular course which it did take in its historical development, says: "We have observed, for example, that a period of national enthusiasm and national prosperity is usually one of great activity, in particular of great constructive activity, in philosophy".[381] Ancient Greece and Rome, indeed, saw their best days, and so did the Middle Ages, when their philosophy was at its best!

This follows from the very nature of philosophy itself. Owing to its breadth of vision and the freedom of its thought, it can most readily press forward to fundamental facts and to a contemplation of things "sub specie aeterna", and is thus able to lift our lives above the mere stream of things, and to give it a solid basis.

True, the masses of mankind do not trouble themselves with philosophical problems:—they leave these to the master minds. However, the results of the latter's reflections, embodying themselves, as they do, in the form of general principles, spread themselves downward from mind to mind, according to the law by which thought is propagated,[382] until thousands act upon them every day

381 Op. cit., p. 656.
382 Cf. Morell, J. D., "History," op .cit., p. 26 ff.

of their life, to whom indeed, strictly speaking, all philosophical thinking is completely foreign. The people of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries had no difficulty in laying hold of what we may term the formulas of the philosophies that had emanated from Bacon, Descartes, and Locke, and were transmitted to them through Spinoza and Hume, Condillac and Cabanis, Kant and Hegel, Huxley and Feuerbach. And if we, in our own days, perceive a serious lowering of the level of the inner spirit life, nay, an impoverishment of life in the midst of amazing peripheral progress, of undreamt of technical accomplishments, of an overwhelming wealth of outward success without an equal wealth of real values of life, upon what shoulders must the burden be laid other than upon the low standard of philosophical thinking!

All true philosophers occupy themselves with questions such as these: Are there two natures in man? If there is but one, is it *mind* or *matter?* If there are two, do ideas come by the senses or do they spring up in the mind? Or, in truth, are they not rather a mixture of the action of external objects upon us and of the internal faculties we possess? The *soul* and *nature, will* and *necessity,* divide the dominion of existence, and, according as we place the force within ourselves or without, are we sons of heaven or slaves of earth.

The value of life for each one of us is determined by the *self,* which makes man what he is; and the self is fed and fashioned by what he *ponders, admires, loves,* and *does.* If man lives for the material only, he has no true self, since the self is *essentially spiritual!* If he lives subservient to instinct and appetite he has but an animal, an apparent self. The element of the true self is moral freedom, which is born of obedience to *reason* and *conscience,* but these exist for those alone who live in conscious communion with the Eternal Creative Spirit.

Philosophy, then, to have a wholesome effect, must hold "the golden mean" between the spiritual and the material,

as De Wulf expresses it, and as it was also held and taught by Görres, and as he is continually teaching it through the Görres-Gesellschaft. It must lay down the true relations between *faith, grace,* and *religion,* on the one hand, and *reason, nature,* and *morals,* on the other; thus, as it were, fulfilling the words of our great Master, to "render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's, and to God the things that are God's".[383]

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383 Cf. De Wulf, M., "Scolasticism Old and New" (trans. by P. Coffey), Dublin and London, 1910, p. 317.

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